

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Series B - No. 81

SIMPLE SENTENCES IN TONGAN

by

Claude Tchekhoff



Department of Linguistics

Research School of Pacific Studies

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS is issued through the Linguistic
Circle of Canberra and consists of four series:

SERIES A - Occasional Papers
SERIES B - Monographs
SERIES C - Books
SERIES D - Special Publications

EDITOR: S.A. Wurm

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: D.C. Laycock, C.L. Voorhoeve, D.T. Tryon, T.E. Dutton

EDITORIAL ADVISERS:

B.W. Bender
University of Hawaii
David Bradley
University of Melbourne
A. Capell
University of Sydney
S.H. Elbert
University of Hawaii
K.J. Franklin
Summer Institute of Linguistics
W.W. Glover
Summer Institute of Linguistics
G.W. Grace
University of Hawaii
M.A.K. Halliday
University of Sydney
A. Healey
Summer Institute of Linguistics
L.A. Hercus
Australian National University
Nguyễn Đăng Liêm
University of Hawaii

John Lynch
University of Papua New Guinea
K.A. McElhanon
University of Texas
H.P. McKaughan
University of Hawaii
P. Mühlhäusler
Linacre College, Oxford
G.N. O'Grady
University of Victoria, B.C.
A.K. Pawley
University of Auckland
K.L. Pike University of Michigan;
Summer Institute of Linguistics
E.C. Polomé
University of Texas
Gillian Sankoff
University of Pennsylvania
W.A.L. Stokhof National Center for
Language Development, Jakarta;
University of Leiden
J.W.M. Verhaar
Gonzaga University, Spokane

All correspondence concerning PACIFIC LINGUISTICS, including
orders and subscriptions, should be addressed to:

The Secretary
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra, A.C.T. 2600
Australia.

Copyright © C. Tekehoff.

First Published 1981.

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in
the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas
Fund.

National Library of Australia Card Number and ISBN 0 85883 251 8.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
0. Introduction	1
1. Function-Markers and Lexical Morphemes	2
2. Examples of the Functioning of Both Groups	4
3. Verbs. Minimal Independent vs. Preferred Utterances and the Problem of the Subject	6
3.1. Terminology	7
3.2. Two Classes of Verbs	8
4. Verbs that are Incompatible with an Agent NP	11
5. Agent-Incompatible Verbs with a Second NP	13
5.1. Summary of Verbs + NP Participants	16
6. Verbs and Pronouns	18
6.1. Pronouns in the Dual and Plural	20
7. Pronouns with Intransitive Verbs	21
8. Compounds	22
8.1. Compounds vs. Noun Phrases	23
9. Two Different Classes of Units: Lexical vs. Grammatical	25
10. The Definite Accent and the Role of the Situation	27
11. Restrictions on the Basic Voice-Neutrality of Agent-Compatible Verbs	28
11.1. Actor-Focussed Verbs	29
12. Aspect vs. Tense	31
12.1. The Expression of Moods in Tongan	32
13. Aspects	33
14. Perfective Aspect and Perfect Tense	34
15. The Perfective Aspect and Modifying NPs	36
15.1. 'ilo, 'ilo'i and 'iloa	38
16. Agent-Incompatible Verbs and the Perfective Aspect	39
16.1. Voice in Tongan?	40
17. Semantic Passivisation of 'i Perfective Aspect + Agent-Incompatible Verbs	42

	<i>Page</i>
18. Noun-Predicates	44
18.1. The Expression of Equivalence	44
19. The Expression of Possession	45
20. Complex Utterances with two Nominal Predicates	46
21. Inceptive vs. General	47
21.1. Nouns and Voice	48
22. Possessive Markers	50
23. 'a vs. 'o Function-Markers: A Labile Opposition	51
24. 'ene vs. hono: A Consistent Opposition	52
25. Possessive + Noun: Two Lexical Classes	53
25.1. 'Concrete' Nouns and Possession	54
26. Derived Nouns and the Expression of Possession	55
27. A Review: The Role of Both Nominal and Verbal Constructions	57
27.1. Verbal Transitivity and Nominal Possession	57
28. A Conclusion and a Diachronic Prospective View	58
29. Corpus	59
29.1. Koe Talanoa 'Oe Kavá Moe Toō <i>'The story of Kava and the Sugar Cane'</i>	59
29.2. Ko Hina Mo Sinilau Moe 'Atu 'Hina, <i>Sinilau and the 'atu'</i>	66
29.3. Koe talatupu'a ki he tupu'anga 'oe niu <i>'The legend concerning the origin of the coconut'</i>	71
30. Allomorphs	74
<i>Notes</i>	76
<i>Bibliography</i>	87

0. INTRODUCTION

Tongan belongs to the Polynesian group of Western Austronesian languages¹. It is spoken by roughly 100,000 people in the Tongan Archipelago, the islands of which lie in a very open rainbow-like conformation in the South Pacific at approximately NNW-SSE, 175° longitude West, and 20° latitude South (its exact position can be seen on the geographical chart).

In Tongan, there are three, different, social dialects. One is used for addressing the king, another for nobility - noblemen number about thirty - and the third is the language of the common people. The differences between these registers are lexical rather than syntactic. Our study deals with basic and near-basic sentence-structure in the ordinary language.

In Tongan, there is a definite cleavage between two categories of morphemes; the first group is made of various function-markers, both for verbs and noun-phrases. To the other class belongs the bulk of lexical units: the same word can be a syntactically distinct verb, noun, adjective, adverb, etc.... according to the function-marker that goes with it. Thus the first group can be said to be the 'backbone' of grammatical structure in Tongan. Lexical items, on the other hand, depend on these function-markers for the part they play in a sentence, and so for their ultimate meaning.

It must be noted that the word predicate is used here meaning only the syntactic center of the sentence, either verb-phrase or predicative noun-phrase, and not including other NPs in the sentence.

In other words, all verbs are predicates, but all predicates are not verbs: morphemes that can be used instead of a verb as the syntactic center of a sentence, in one context, - but elsewhere could be any other part of speech, (NP, etc.....) - will be called non-verbal predicates, or predicates (for short).

Throughout this chapter, we shall study the functioning of both kinds of morphemes. The various types of predicates, their neutrality as far as voice is concerned, also those palliatives which can compensate for this voice-neutrality, will be examined, as will tenses and aspects. Lastly, we shall examine the dynamics of an evolving system which contains the first synchronic signs of what may be interpreted diachronically as a progression towards another system.

1. FUNCTION-MARKERS AND LEXICAL MORPHEMES

As has been noted above, function-markers act as a syntactic frame, as it were, for the language. They determine the structure of the predicate and, thus, of the entire sentence.

Two sub-classes may be distinguished within these grammatical function-marking morphemes: those which, combined with a lexical morpheme, form a verb-phrase, and those which, in combination with the same lexical morpheme, form a noun-phrase:

a) function-marker + lexical morpheme = VP

b) function-marker + the same lexical morpheme = NP

a) as in:

(1) 'oku 'alu² 'there is a departure'
present tense verb notion of 'departure'

(2) na'e 'uha 'it rained'
past tense verb notion of rain

In addition to the two tense-markers noted above, Tongan has a future tense-marker, te/'e, and a perfect tense-marker, kuo.

b) the second sub-class of function-markers forms noun-phrases; they include definite and possessive markers; (see further §22) also various other NP markers, as in:

(3)	'oku		momoko	'a		e	'uha
	<u>present</u>	tense	<u>verb</u>	<u>1st</u>	Np marker	article	noun
	VP			NP			
	<i>is cold</i>			<i>the rain</i>			
	'the rain is cold'						

In the sentence above, the 'ae-marked NP corresponds to our subject of an intransitive verb. I have analysed it as first NP-marker because if a verb has only one NP participant, the latter is 'a-marked, and for no other reason.

Another function-marker is ko: ko precedes noun-phrases and it can have two different functions:

a) it can mark topic, as in

- (4) ko e fa'e na'à ne 'ui
 topic mother past she agent to call
 lit. 'the mother, she called'

(and see below §18, 20).

b) when a ko-marked NP or pronoun stands alone, it forms an independent sentence, and ko turns the NP or noun into a predicate; thus it can be said to be predicate-forming, and functions very much like English, 'this is', 'it is', or 'there is', as in:

- (5) ko 'ae 'uha
 predicate-forming
 'there is rain' or 'it is raining', or again:

- (6) ko au 'it's me'

It is clear, then, given the above, that the two classes of function-markers, tense-markers and predicate-forming Ko, are mutually exclusive. The same lexical morpheme may be preceded by either one OR the other, but not both at the same time.

It is also clear that in Tongan the grammatical identity of a lexical morpheme is based entirely upon its function-marker; this last makes it a verb or a noun, and subsequently identifies the whole sentence for its grammatical type, as having a verbal or a nominal predicate:

tense-marker + lexical morpheme = VP

Ko + lexical Noun Phrase = predicative NP

Thus, in Tongan, function markers are discriminatory factors in the hic and nunc classification of lexical morphemes. The latter do not fall into pre-ordained categories. Compare, for instance:

- (7) Ko e 'uha, but 'oku 'uha; both sentences can be translated 'it is raining'.³ In the same way, ko e 'alu and 'oku 'alu both mean 'there is a departure'. Why then do the two co-exist on the level of syntax? Indeed, it is likely that if these two utterances did not each have its own structural importance, linguistic economy would have done away with one of them. The reason for their usefulness is two-fold: first, a sentence containing the predicate-forming particle is incompatible with expressions of time; thus the verbal model is necessary to express the notion of time. Another reason is that sentences containing Ko+ NP are preferential because they enter into a particular point of strategy, as will be seen further in §18, 20 and 27.

Morphemes with a set function are, then, few in number. They also include (see below) pronouns and those morphemes which mark the function of NP modifiers to the verb. All of these units will be analysed further (see below).

The polyvalence of the second lexical group is normal in Tongan; it follows that, as a general rule, the meaning of a lexical morpheme can be specified only within context and according to its function. Of course, semantic compatibilities and incompatibilities must be taken into account. Out of context, a lexical morpheme simply indicates general and vague notions comparable to Indo-European roots before endings and inflected forms are added.

Having outlined the various kinds of morphemes found in Tongan, I shall now proceed with a demonstration of their functional mechanisms.

2. EXAMPLES OF THE FUNCTIONING OF BOTH GROUPS

Throughout the following examples, I shall permutate morphemes, in order to demonstrate the multiplicity of their uses. At the same time, I shall consider other function-marking morphemes. As an example, let us examine the following sentences in which the same morpheme, *si'i*, takes on a variety of functions and subsequently, more precise meanings: Out of context *si'i* has a very general meaning of smallness. In context, it takes on a more precise, always syntactically determined, meaning.

- (1) *na'e ako si'i 'ae tamasi'i*
 past verb adverb first modifying NP
to study little the child
'the child studied little'/(not very often).

- (2) *na'e si'i 'ae akó 'the school was small'*

In (1), *si'i* is an adverb and *ako* is the verb. In (2), *si'i* is a syntactically determined verb, and *ako*, preceded by the definite article, is a noun.

In (3), *si'i* operates as a noun:

- (3) *'i 'ene si'i*
 function marker *in* possessive marker *his/her* noun *childhood*
'in his/her childhood'

In the following utterance (4), *si'i* is an adjective:

- (4) *na'e ako 'ae tamasi'i si'i iate au*⁵
 pst tense marker verb first modifier of the verb adj. adverb
 lit. *'in me' 'the little child studied at my house.'*

'iate is the form which the place function-marking morpheme takes on when preceding a pronoun.⁵ *au* is the goal pronoun of the first person.⁶ In the following sentence, the same phrase *'iate au* comes after a tense marker and operates as a verbal predicate.

- (5) *na'e 'iate au*
 tense-marker verb
'he was at my house'

In the example below, *mahalo* translates as an adverb whose meaning is 'perhaps':⁷

- (6) *mahalo* 'e lava
perhaps future tense-marker verb *possible*
'Perhaps it will be possible.'

In (7), on the other hand, *mahalo* is the verb; it has been translated by 'to have a feeling that':

- (7) 'oku mahalo 'ae tamasi'i 'e tomui 'ae fefiné
 present verb NP future tense verb NP
to have a feeling that the child to be late the woman
'The child has a feeling that the woman will be late.'

In translation, the value of the word has been changed: the adverb has been rendered by 'perhaps' and the verb by 'to have a feeling that'. But in Tongan reality, the meaning remains unaltered: in both cases a possibility is expressed. (7) above is made of two independent paratactic sentences, where English would have a main clause followed by a relative clause.

These utterances have thus provided us with morphemes of the two categories, function-markers with a single function and lexical morphemes. It is obvious that lexical morphemes can be translated only when in context. For instance, *ako*, 'the place, or thing, or action that is implied in studying'; *si'i* 'little, smallness, a little'; *mahalo* 'perhaps, to have a feeling that', etc. These morphemes' meanings can be specified only within a given context. Out of context, they correspond to no set part of speech; consequently, their meanings also remain unspecified.

Among other NP function-markers, 'a indicates a first modifying NP to which may be added the nominal, definite marker *e*; the possessive, 'ene or *hono* ('his/her') can replace the 'ae group.⁸ 'E marks the second, agent, modifying NP. With it, the definite article becomes *he*⁹ instead of *e*. For instance:

- (8) *na'e* *ako* 'e *he* *tamasi'i* 'ae *leson*¹⁰
 past tense verb second NP noun first NP noun
 marker marker marker
 NP NP
to study the child the lesson
'The child studied the lesson.'

(8) above introduces a second NP modifier to the verb.

Accordingly, it is now possible to deduce from this comparison that Tongan is a language with morphological ergativity: (Comrie 1972, Tchekhoff 1978a, Dixon 1979) this means that the only argument of a one-place verb is treated in the same way as the patient of a two-place verb. Only by comparing two-place verbs to one-place verbs, is it

possible to decide on the construction-pattern of a given language. It would be a methodological error proceeding from an ethnocentric outlook, to decide on this point, from the structure of sentences with a one-place verb only.¹¹ The following section deals with the functioning of verbal sentence-patterns in Tongan.

3. VERBS. MINIMAL INDEPENDENT VS. PREFERRED UTTERANCES AND THE PROBLEM OF THE SUBJECT

The basic ¹² pattern is tense, verb and NP modifier. In translation, the NP modifier corresponds to our subject:

- (1) 'oku'alu 'ae tangatá
'the man is leaving.'

But when a verb takes an agent, the latter is marked according to the ergative pattern, as in

- (2) 'oku 'ui 'e Mele 'ae tangatá¹³
'Mary calls the man.'

It can be seen that here, as is normal for an ergative construction, the 'a-marked NP no longer corresponds to the subject of the verb in our translation, but to its semantic patient. Therefore two alternatives are available to the scholar: either he can base his analysis on the values of Tongan morphemes as they come out through their translation; in which case 'ae tangatá is subject of the intransitive verb in (1) and object of the transitive verb in (2). Thus intransitive and transitive subjects are interpreted as being marked differently in an ergative construction. According to this view, in Tongan, 'e is the mark of the subject of a transitive verb, 'a is that of an intransitive one.

Such a view supports the Western scholar in his feeling that ergativity is very foreign indeed to his own intuitions about the primacy of the doer: indeed, discovering one's own standard grammatical patterns in a foreign language is a comfortable feeling, if only for reasons of habit and for the satisfaction of finding elsewhere all the comforts of home. For this very reason, it is also very dangerous, and conducive to a biased approach. Of course, a linguist cannot help having to use his own linguistic circuits in the elicitation of a system that is strange to him, and this is another reason for him to be wary in his general approach. In view of all this, the other possible course is to follow those indications that are given by the language itself: immediately, we find out that in Tongan there are two classes of verbs: one is compatible with an 'e - marked agent NP, and one is not. But they cannot be opposed as transitive vs. intransitive for several functional reasons.

a) In both classes, the second participant is optional for the 'e agent-marked class:

- (3) 'Oku ui 'a Mele
present *call* Mary

without an agent is correct and complete in itself (see the following paragraph); but a sentence such as

- (4) *'Oku ui 'e Mele
present *call* agent Mary

is not acceptable, and b) In the absence of the 2nd 'e agent marked NP, the 'a - marked participant can take on the value of what would be the subject of our transitive verbs (see further).

Turning to the other class of verbs that are incompatible with an agent 'e-marked NP, we shall see that distinguishing central or core (Dixon 1980:295) vs. peripheral functions can be done only against the language's own indications. These points will be gone into in greater detail in §4 and 5. Meanwhile we can only distinguish between the two classes of verbs by calling them respectively compatible and incompatible with an explicit agent function.

A few words can also be said about the terminology I shall use for the 'e-marked agent and for the 'a-marked NP:

3.1. TERMINOLOGY

Interpreting the 'e-marked agent NP as Subject of the verb in a Tongan ergative sentence, is incompatible with both my points a) and b) above: we would have to admit that a sentence with $S_t + V$ and no object is incorrect in Tongan, but one with V Object alone and no Subject would be correct and complete! As for point b) above, i.e. the possibility for the 'a marked participant to take on two opposite semantic values, it would be left completely unaccounted for.

Therefore, the only alternative left is to call the 'a marked first, and the 'e marked agent second, NP modifiers. This may seem unnecessarily complicated; but on functional grounds it is a better choice: it respects the identity of the 'a-function-marker in Tongan, but does not presume to give it a meaning too early in the game, and it is more powerful than the usual interpretation, as will be seen further. Finally it enables us to circumvent entirely the problem of the subject in general (Keenan 1976 and Dixon 1979), thus avoiding a possible confusion between subject and agent. Indeed, the supremacy of subject-agent is firmly inscribed in our psycholinguistic make-up as speakers of the so-called modern western languages; it must not be allowed to spread into our analysis of

ergative reality. For these many reasons, I prefer to leave the question of the subject aside altogether for Tongan; bringing together the two 'a-marked NPs will allow us in due course to stay close to the functional reality of its verbs, as will be seen next.

It must be noted that the type of short, 'cut and dried' utterances studied here contrasts with preferred utterance-patterns; these, on the contrary, are much longer; with them, verbs retain the same simple form they had in minimal utterances. But verbs in preferred utterances also contain various types of redundant information, i.e. short explanatory adverbial morphemes, which are, more often than not, untranslatable into English.

In this paper, I shall insist on the syntax of minimal sentence-patterns, since in Tongan, preferred sentences are a combination of minimal sentences for the most part, and the latter are didactically simpler.

In the following pages, I shall examine various types of verbs classified according to their compatibility with one or several NP modifiers.

3.2. TWO CLASSES OF VERBS

In Tongan, primary verbs, that is, those with no suffix, can be divided into two groups: those which may take an agent-marked NP and those which may not. I shall examine first Tongan verbs that can take an 'e-marked agent NP; then I shall study verbs that are incompatible with an agent.

3.2.1. Verbs that are Compatible with an Agent-Marked NP

Following the same pattern as (2) above, we get

- (5) 'oku 'ui 'e he fefine 'a Mele
tense verb agent *the woman* 1st mod. NP
'*the woman is calling Mary.*'

without the agent-marked NP, we get (3) as above.

But (3) does not only mean '*Mary is being called*'; in context it can also mean the exact opposite: '*Mary is calling.*' How is this possible? This is made possible because two-place verbs in Tongan are neutral for voice, that is, neither active nor passive. They give no indication as to the direction of the verbal operation towards or away from its NP participants. I have called these voice-neutral verbs open for voice. (In French, *disponibilité du verbe*. See Tchekhoff 1978a, 1979c). Obviously, in order for the verb to exercise its voice-openness the agent must be absent from the sentence, as in (3)

above. Then the effect of this verb-openness works in combination with the lack of orientation in the 'a function-marker: this means neither agent nor patient, but merely 'first NP modifier function-marker'. That is why it can take on the semantic role (as opposed to grammatical function, see Tchekhoff 1978a, 1-8, 11 and 12) of either, as can be seen when comparing (3) and (5). Just as the open verb, then the 'a NP function-marker gives no indication as to the direction of the verb, towards or away from it. Therefore the onus of the whole sentence-orientation lies on the agent-marked NP: without it, the sentence reverts to its basic voice-openness; this is what allows the same verb to serve in two exact opposite situations.

Consequently translation of these voice-open verbs into a language where verbs are voice-oriented must find a way of expressing this voice-neutrality. This can be done best by a translation which avoids transitive verbs altogether when there is no agent; for instance; as above:

- (6) Na'e ui 'a Mele
 'there was a call, Mary involved'
- (7) na'e ui 'a Mele 'e he fefiné
 'there was a call, Mary involved, the woman agent.' i.e.,
 'the woman called Mary.'

It would be possible but ill-advised to list two different homonyms a) ui 'to call' active, b) ui 'to be called' passive: for ui means neither 'to call' nor 'to be called'. Such analysis would constitute a clear-cut case of unconscious language reflexivity (Lyons 1977: vol.I) i.e. pouring, so to say, the target-language into the mould of another, implementing language, and thereby obscuring the specificity of the target-language; here this specificity lies in the voice-openness of Tongan agent-compatible verbs, when they appear without the agent: indeed, Tongan primary verbs are neither transitive nor active nor passive. They just are one, as opposed to derived verbs. (See further §13 and ff.) Historical evidence supports this view - (see §11, as does also typology.¹⁴

This feature of voice-openness as in (6) is considered as making for greater ease, economy and simplicity: if it goes without saying, why bother to say it anyway? But 'to eat' and 'to be eaten' are not the same thing, to be sure; that, no doubt, is a universal truth. That is why these sentences with a voice-opened verb can be used only in context or situation: the message must never be ambiguous, for it would defeat its own purpose (for a distinction between syntactic and semiotic ambiguity, see Tchekhoff, forthcoming).

When an agent-marked NP is added to a sentence of this type, the

'a'-marked NP automatically falls into the non-agent opposite semantic class, that is, it becomes goal of the verb. The preferred, but by no means compulsory, pattern is then verb agent patient. In other terms, *mutatis mutandis*, Tongan is a VSO language;¹⁵ these terms are used by linguists who define agent as subject, and first non-agent NP modifier as object. I, for one, prefer to avoid these terms for they seem to set the accusative pattern of language as a yardstick, according to which all others must be measured. Be that as it may, an immediate functional reason can be found for this VSO, better, verb, agent, non-agent order: since the agent appears in the string before the goal or patient, the latter's role is clear even before it is expressed, and there is no chance of ambiguity.

Here are more examples of the same type of verbal patterns in Tongan:

- (8) na'e taki 'ae tangatá
 past tense verb first NP modifier
 marker lead/be led¹⁶ the man

= 'past, to lead/be led, involving the man', i.e., either '*the man led*' or '*the man was led*'. Another example of the same sort:

- (9) na'e kai 'ae iká
past verb, notion of food first NP modifier, *the fish*

= 'past, to eat, involving the fish', i.e., either '*the fish ate*' or '*the fish was eaten*'.

With agent added, these yield:

- (10) na'e kai 'e he tamasi'i 'ae iká
 past verb notion agent def. art. noun first NP
 of food modifier,
 agent NP *the child*, agent *the fish*

= 'there was the act of absorbing food, the fish involved, the child agent', i.e., '*the child ate the fish*'. Inversely:

- (11) na'e kai 'e he 'anga 'ae tamasi'i
past verb notion agent NP first NP modifier
of food *the shark* *the child*

= 'the shark ate the child'. Also:

- (12) na'e ui 'e he tangata 'ae fefiné
past verb *to call/* agent NP first NP modifier
 be called *the man* *'the woman'*

= 'the man called the woman'. Here is another example:

- (13) na'e haka 'e he fefiné 'a e 'ufí
past verb, to boil/ agent NP first NP modifier
 be boiled *the woman* *the yam*

= 'the woman boiled the yam'.

However, more frequently, these verbs appear in sentences where their openness cannot be felt: sentences with an agent expressed, or with

pronouns which have a built-in orientation (see further §6) towards the verb, that are either agent or patient. All these reduce the effect of verbal neutrality. They will be examined further, along with other means of compensating this verbal openness for voice.

The following paragraphs deal first with verbs with no 'e-marked NP argument. Then pronouns will be analysed; last, some derived verbs - as opposed to primary verbs - will be examined.

4. VERBS THAT ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH AN AGENT NP

Basic sentences in this case include tense marker, verb and a first NP modifier introduced by an 'a function marker and definite article. Sometimes literal translation of these sentences are awkward, because they must respect the original Tongan grammatical pattern; in such cases these translations are followed by their proper English counterpart:

- (1) na'e nofo 'a e tamasi'í
past verb function marker definite article first NP modifier
= 'there was the act of staying, the child involved', i.e., '*the child stayed*'.
- (2) na'e lea 'a e tamasi'í
past verb, to speak function marker definite first NP modifier
marker article
'the child spoke'.
- (3) na'e 'ofa 'a e tangatá
past verb, to love the man
'the man was a loving person'.
- (4) na'e sai 'ia 'a e tamasi'í
past verb, to like the child
'there was affection, the child involved', i.e., '*the child was affectionate*'.
- (5) na'e ngalo 'a e lesoní
past verb, to disappear function marker definite the lesson
marker article
'there was the act of disappearing, the lesson involved', i.e., '*the lesson disappeared*'.

The English equivalent of this is '*the lesson was forgotten*'. Also,

- (6) na'e manatu 'a e tangatá
past verb function marker definite article the man
'there was the act of remembering, the man involved', i.e., '*the man remembered*'.

- (7) na'e sio 'a e tangatá¹⁷
 past verb, to see function marker definite article the man
 'there was the act of seeing, the man involved', i.e.,
 'the man saw'. Sio can be replaced by 'asi, 'to be seen' or
 'to appear', to wit:
- (8) na'e 'asi 'a e tangatá
 past verb, to appear/ function definite the man
 to be seen marker article
 'there was the act of appearing, of being seen, the man
 involved', i.e., 'the man appeared, was seen'.
- (9) na'e 'alu 'a e tangatá
 past tense verb, to leave function definite the man
 marker marker article
 'there was the act of departure, the man involved', i.e.,
 'the man left'. 'alu corresponds to the English 'to go'.
- (10) na'e mahino 'a e lesóní
 past tense verb, to be clear function definite the lesson
 marker marker article
 'there was the idea of clearness, the lesson involved',
 'the lesson was clear', i.e. 'was understood'.
- (11) na'e lavea 'a e tangatá
 past tense verb, to be hurt function definite the man
 marker marker article
 'there was a wound, the man involved', i.e., 'the man was
 wounded'.

The English translation of these sentences involves a variety of structures and meanings: for example apart from the active voice as in (1), (2), and the passive voice as in (5), statives, (3), (4), and action-verbs, (9), ... appear in the translation. To cite but one instance of this, these verbs in Tongan may correspond to transitives in English as in (3) and (4). However, in any case, the important thing is to be able to recognise the functional unity of the original structure: each sentence contains a formal component which may be recognised immediately, as well as a semantic component which is more difficult to detect than the former. In translating the latter, one's own linguistic patterns must be used. But it is essential to realise that each of the sentences above, and others belonging to the same type, is complete in itself. (More on the subject in the next paragraph). In some cases e.g. (1), (9), (11), this fact is more acceptable to us, because in translation also, these sentences are complete. Elsewhere, acceptance of this pattern in Tongan is dependent upon an acceptable translation into English. As an example, if I say, 'the child loves' or 'the child likes' the sentence is not complete, but

'the child is a loving person', 'the child is affectionate', are acceptable. In any case, one must take care not to read Tongan reality into one's translation, and not to forget that, by its very nature, translating involves an extra step away from the target-language.

Should the translator forget this unavoidable remoteness, he may very well insert his own personal linguistic patterns, even unconsciously, into his analysis, all the while staunchly convinced that he is being faithfully objective.

Having established the pattern of verbs that are incompatible with an agent, an extra NP will now be added to these patterns.

5. AGENT-INCOMPATIBLE VERBS WITH A SECOND NP

All of these are one-place verbs: this means that a second NP can appear in the sentence, but when it does, and whatever its mark, - 'i or ki as will be seen hereafter - it expresses a circumstantial NP rather than a direct modifier of the verb. A definition of circumstantial NPs is that they are "objects which are not determined by the semantics of the verb" (Kibrik 1979). Even if not completely satisfactory - indeed, "semantics of the verb" is open to uncertainty - this definition is as close as can be given in general linguistics. We shall come back to this point hereafter.

If an instrument is added to (11) above, it must be 'i-marked, as in:

- (1) na'e lavea 'ae tangata 'i he helé
 past tense verb, to be first modifying instrument noun phrase
 marker hurt noun phrase
 'the man was hurt by (instrument) the knife'.

Since 'a knife' is felt to be inanimate, the noun phrase *'e he hele *'the knife, agent'* is unacceptable with all verb classes. 'i is the instrument function-marker; as such, it must be distinguished in Tongan from the agent function-marker. As in other ergative systems (Comrie n.d.; Silverstein 1976; Tchekhoff 1978a, b), an inanimate referent cannot be an agent. There is sometimes one type of syntax for animate referents and a different one for inanimates.¹⁸

Besides its instrument function, 'i also indicates place.¹⁹ There is no formal distinction between instrument and place functions:

- (2) na'e lavea 'ae tangata 'i he vaká
 past verb first modifier locative NP
 'the man was wounded in the boat or by the boat'

Each of the following sentences shows a verb with its 'a-marked NP. In some cases, this extra NP is translated as subject or direct

object of the verb, as in (6) and (4) respectively, immediately hereafter. Consequently its presence may seem essential to an outsider. That makes it difficult to accept these NPs as mere circumstances. And yet they are so, and literal translations are possible. All these sentences function in the same way in Tongan (apart, of course, from semantic incompatibilities), and that is the important functional factor: the 'i-marked NP is always less central to the verb than the 'a-marked Noun Phrase.

- (3) na'e nofo 'ae tamasi'i ('i) he falé
 past verb, the child function marker definite noun
 to stay in the house marker
 locative NP
'the child stayed in the house'.
- (4) na'e 'ofa 'ae tangata 'i he fefiné
 past verb, to love 1st NP modifier circumstantial NP woman
 the man
'the man loved the woman'.
- (5) na'e sai'ia 'ae tamasi'i 'i he fefiné
 past verb, to like 1st NP modifier the woman
 the child
'the child was affectionate towards the woman'
'che child liked the woman'
- (6) na'e ngalo 'ae lesoni 'i he tamasi'i²⁰
 past to disappear the lesson within the child
'the lesson disappeared within the child'
'the child forgot the lesson'.
- (7) na'e lea 'ae tamasi'i 'i he fefiné
 past to speak the child the woman
'the child spoke to the woman'.
- When 'i stands for a locative marker, it tends to indicate a place that is close, and often, but not necessarily so, without movement. A comparable pattern obtains for ki: it indicates a place, sometimes, but not always, with movement:
- (8) na'e mahino 'ae lesoni Ki he tamasi'i
 past to be clear the lesson within the child
'the lesson was clear for the child',
'the child understood the lesson'.
- (9) na'e 'alu 'ae tangata ki koló
 past to go the man
'the man went to town'
- (10) na'e manatu 'ae tangata ki he fefiné
 past to remember the man the woman
'the man remembered the woman'.

- (11) na'e sio 'ae tangata ki he fefiné
 past to see the man towards the woman
'the man saw the woman'.
- (12) na'e 'asi 'ae tangata ki he fefiné
 to be seen/to seem the man the woman
'the man was seen by the woman'.

In these last two examples, unity of structure is confirmed: sentences with two NPs have the same syntax as sentences with only one. The mainstay of the sentence - verb and 'a-marked NP - remains the same. The relationship between the two does not change.

Assuredly one would discover different sub-classes among these verbs, if one were to investigate their finer compatibilities (see for instance Dik 1978, Holisky 1976) but these would all fall into the larger class of no-agent verbs, and the scope of this paper does not allow us to go deeper into the matter, since it just means to lay down the main lines of Tongan syntax. One could also be tempted to analyse these verbs as non-activity verbs. However, they do not all fit this interpretation ('alu 'to go', lea 'to speak'...) But if we remain on the incontrovertible level of overt syntactic markings, what these verbs have in common is that they are incompatible with an agent-marked NP.

'I and ki-marked NPs can also be used with agent-compatible verbs. Here their functions as peripheral noun-phrase markers are less surprising. The patterns are the following:²¹

verb + 'a modifier NP + possible 'e-marked agent + 'i/ki NP

verb + 'a modifier NP no agent + 'i/ki NP

They can be illustrated in the two following examples; one with an agent-compatible verb and the other with one that is agent-incompatible:

- (13) 'oku kai 'e Sione 'ae ika 'i he potu ki tahí
 present verb, notion agent NP 1st NP locative NP locative NP
 tense of food John agent the fish in the area towards the sea
'John eats the fish in the area of the sea'.
- (14) 'oku 'alu 'a Sione ki kolo 'i he vaká
 present verb, 1st NP locative NP locative or instrument NP
 tense goes John to the city in/by (the) boat
'John goes to the city in/by (the) boat', etc.

As was mentioned at the start of this study (§1) it is also possible to use verbs of both classes with only a tense marker and no NP participant whatever. Two examples of agent-incompatible verbs with no NP participant have been given in §1 above, (1) and (2). Here is one of the agent-compatible class.

- (15) 'oku kai this would correspond to 'come and get it!' or 'food's ready' or French 'à table!'

These patterns are quite common, they occur normally, and not only in highly-marked situations, as above.

Having established the working mechanisms, compatibilities and incompatibilities of both classes of verbs, it is now possible to recapitulate the reasons why I have not distinguished two traditional classes, transitive and intransitive, rather than just 'e agent-compatible and 'e agent-incompatible verbs. Of course the final picture will vary according to whether we do or do not include into this table sentences with no NPs, as immediately above.

5.1. SUMMARY OF VERBS + NP PARTICIPANT(S)

Dixon (1980 op. cit. 294-295) makes a functional distinction between core and peripheral functions.

Core functions: "Those NPs that MUST be included in a sentence if it is to have a complete sense are said to be in core function."

Peripheral functions: "Peripheral NPs are not strictly necessary to the grammaticality of a sentence ... syntactic peripheral NPs provide additional information about the course or purpose of the event, and local peripheral NPs about its setting."

Therefore, if we admit that sentences in Tongan are complete with no NP participants whatever, we must also accept that there are no core NPs in this language. However, when a sentence does include a noun-phrase, the first to appear is 'a-marked. Therefore it must take precedence over the other possible NPs. Besides, some NPs ('e agent-, i- or ki-marked) are triggered by the verb; others are not. Consequently it is necessary to distinguish between these two last types.

One last point is that in Tongan it is not always possible to distinguish between syntactic and local peripheral NPs:

- (16) na'e lavea 'a Mele 'i he vaká can mean either 'Mary was hurt in the boat' (local peripheral) or 'by the boat' (instrumental peripheral).

These findings can be tabulated as follows:

	Basic peripherals		Other P.
	1	2	3
agent-compatible(Tns) ¹ v	'a	'e	'i/ki
agent-incompatible V	'a	'i or ki	'i/ki

In this table, and with the agent-incompatible class, the describer is strongly tempted to leave an empty space where the agent NP would be, if the class were agent-compatible. But to do so would again be nothing more than bowing to our own ethnocentric need to single out the agent (or deep subject) of the verb; indeed nothing here corresponds to one - place intransitive vs. 2 place-transitive verbs, since the very definition of transitivity is that the verbal operation must transit from one participant to the other: this is not what happens here because of the very optional quality of all NPs, particularly the agent. Both types of verbs can take the same number of peripherals 3:

Compare (13) above to the following:

- (17) na'e lea 'ae tamasi'i ki he fefine 'i he ngoue ki he taahí
'the child spoke to the woman in the garden towards the sea'

However, for agent-incompatible verbs, there is homonymy between peripherals 2 and 3; thus the language prefers not to put side by side NPs with the same marker and a different function: the next sentence is acceptable just as (16) above:

- (18) na'e 'alu 'a Mele ki he ako ki he pasá
'Mary went to school to the bazaar'.

But corresponding to *'the child forgot the book in the garden'*, Tongan has:

- (19) na'e ngalo 'i he tamasi'i 'ae tohi 'o ne tuku ia'i he ngoué
'the child forgot the book AND LEFT it in the garden'.

If the linguist prefers to ignore the NP less sentence-pattern in the table above, because he analyses it as having a permanently understood 'a-marked NP, the table can be changed as follows:

	Core NP	Core-peripherals	Other Per.
Agent compatible verbs	'a	'e	'i/ki
Agent-incompatible verbs	'a	'i or ki	'i/ki

All this may go against our spontaneous reactions. But we must beware of our intuitions as native speakers of another language. The fact must be accepted: for our two classes of primary verbs in Tongan, neither 'a marked participant nor agent nor any 'i/ki participant are compulsory. A sentence is complete without either. Hence, it follows that all participants are peripheral.

In the next paragraph, I shall examine sentences with pronouns as arguments to the verb instead of lexical NPs.

6. VERBS AND PRONOUNS

In Tongan, verbs with pronouns of the first two persons in the singular, and all persons in the plural, follow an accusative construction; instead of an ergative pattern as for lexical NPs, the subject pronoun of an intransitive verb bears the same mark as the agent of a transitive verb.

Thus pronouns + verbs can be said to function according to the accusative construction. Pronouns with transitive verbs will be examined first, then those with intransitive verbs.

There are two series of pronouns: the first have a built-in agent-function and precede²³ the verb. Their most common forms are *ou/ku* = 'I', *ke* = 'you', and *ne* = 'he, it'. The second series includes patient-pronouns which come after the verb. To this series belong *au* 'me' and *koe* 'you'.

These last show one important difference from lexical 'a-marked NPs; they are functionally symmetrical to agent pronouns, for they express a constant explicit patient-function. Thus with these two series of pronouns Tongan transitive verbs remain just as neutral for voice, but cannot exercise their neutrality, for their relations with their arguments are expressed by the pronouns themselves. There is a third person agent pronoun *ne*, as in (1), but no symmetrical patient pronoun:

- (1) *na'a ku/ke/ne ui*
 past tense marker agent, I/you/he verb, to call
'I/you/he called.'

Contrary to what happens with lexical NPs, a verb + agent pronoun alone is acceptable. These agent pronouns must come before the verb. This ordering is compulsory. With a lexical 'a-marked NP, we get:

- (2) *na'à ku ui 'ae tangatá*
 past agent verb noun phrase-1st modifier
I to call the man
'I called the man.'

The other series of pronouns comes after the verb; they have a built-in patient function, as in:

- (3) *na'e ui au/koe '(x) called me/you.'*

These last two sentences can be translated by a verb in the passive in English: *'I was called'*, *'you were called'*. Needless to say, this passive is a product of the translating process; it is not an actual part of the original. The verb in (3) above remains unchanged, like that in (2): it is simply followed by a proper patient pronoun, and bears no agent, which pattern is acceptable in Tongan. If an agent NP is added, the result yields:

- (4) na'e ui au 'e he tangatá
 past verb goal agent NP
to call me the man agent
'the man called me.'

But in the third person, the pattern changes: *ia* third person pronoun, postposed to the verb, is not symmetrical to *ne*, for it does not have a built-in patient-function. *ia* functions in the same way as an 'a'-marked lexical NP, which it can replace; like it, it is neutral as to its role towards the verb, as in:

(5) 'oku kai *ia* lit. 'present, food, it'. In context this sentence could mean either 'it is eating' or 'it is being eaten'. In the next sentences, this double possibility is removed by the presence of an agent NP:

- (6) 'oku kai *ia* 'e he tamasi'í
 present tense notion 3rd person neutral agent NP
 of food pronoun *the child agent*
'the child agent eats it'.

Again:

- (7) 'oku ou / ke / ne kai *ia*
 present i / you / he verb, to be pronoun 1st modifier
 eaten or to eat it
'I, you, he eats it'

Thus the chart of pronouns in the singular can be drawn as follows:

	AGENT	PATIENT
1st person	ou/ku	au
2nd person	ke	koe
3rd person	ne	---

ia third person pronoun, postposed to the verb, stands outside of this chart, for it can be used neutrally, as either actor or goal, replacing exactly 'a'-marked NPs. Why this possibility for the third person but not for the other two? The reason for this is psychological, as Benveniste has made clear (1946 and 1956). In his own words, "la 3^e personne est la non-personne"; it is absent from the conversational exchange, just as lexical modifiers are. With the presence of *ne* agent and *ia* parallel to 'a'-marked lexical NPs, we have a complete pronominal system for the third person singular. It reflects exactly the functions of 'e and 'a'-marked NPs respectively.

It must be noted that the verb itself remains unchanged throughout, the only difference being in the function of its arguments. The following patterns may now be set up:

verb + 'a-marked lexical NP	situation or + context	{pronoun agent + verb
or		{or but not <i>and</i>
verb + pronoun <i>ia</i>		{verb + goal pronoun

A reflexive is formed by repeating two pronouns, i.e., the agent and the goal, of the same person. For example:

- (8) na'a ke t̄a koe
past agent, *you* verb, *to hit* *you*
'*you hit yourself*'.²⁴

But in the third person, with *ne* agent placed before the verb, and voice-neutral *ia* placed after the verb, the utterance may have two meanings according to whether *ia* refers to *ne* or to another participant. As before, context and/or situation determine which meaning fits:

- (9) na'a ne t̄a ia 'he hit himself' or 'he hit it (him)'.²⁵

To emphasise the doer of the verbal action, an agent noun-phrase is added: 'e au 'by me', 'e ia 'by himself', as in:

- (10) na'a ku t̄a 'e au
past agent, *I* verb, *to hit* NP, *by me*
'*I myself did the hitting*.'

Sentences with *ne*, in the third person have the same structure as first person sentences, for example in:

- (11) na'a ne t̄a (pe)²⁶ 'e ia ia
past agent, *he* verb, *to hit* (precisely) *himself* *it(him)*
meaning either 'he hit himself' or 'he hit it(him) himself.'

6.1. PRONOUNS IN THE DUAL²⁷ AND PLURAL

There are several series (Churchward 1953: 19. 1-13) all of which have either explicit built-in agent or patient functions respectively. I will not go into them here, however a word can be said about *Kinaua* 'both of them, patient' and *Kinautolu* 'them, plural, patient': their opposite number for the singular is *ia* which can be either the actor or the goal of a verb; why this discrepancy between singular on the one hand and dual/plural on the other? A diachronic explanation can be given: *kinaua* and *kinautolu* may have come from very old directional NPs with a *ki* 'towards' function-marker; subsequently these NPs have become fixed compounds in their present meaning and use.

7. PRONOUNS WITH INTRANSITIVE VERBS

As has been seen above (§6), intransitive verbs cannot take an agent NP. Whenever they take a second NP besides the 'a'-marked NP, it is always introduced by 'i or ki. Certain verbs, such as *lea* 'to speak', must take 'i for their second NP; others, such as *'asi* 'to be seen, to appear', take ki. Therefore, as a general rule, there is no meaningful opposition between the use of the two markers.

Pronouns can replace 'a'-marked NPs with intransitive verbs. They always precede the verb, and they have the same form as agent-pronouns of transitive verbs. But, they are neither semantic agents nor patients, as will be seen from the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) | <i>na'a</i> | <i>ku/ke/ne</i> | <i>lavea</i> |
| | past tense | personal pronoun | <i>to be wounded</i> |
| | marker | 1st., 2nd., 3rd. person | |
| | | <i>I/you/he</i> | |

'I/you/he was wounded' in the past.

It will be remembered that intransitive verbs in Tongan have their own semantic orientation in regard to their 'a'-marked NP modifier. (See §4 above). Therefore, we cannot have:

- (2) **na'e lavea au / koe*
'I/you was/were wounded.'

This orientation, away or towards the pronoun, is therefore not a grammatical feature of voice. For examples,

- (3) *'oku ne manatu* 'he, she, it, remembers'
 (4) *'oku ne lavea* 'he/she/it receives a wound'
 (5) *'oku ne ngalo* 'he, she, it fades away, disappears',

which is Tongan for 'he, she, it is forgotten'. Here also, the third person singular can be expressed either by *ne* or by *ia*.

The meaning of a sentence with *ne* is very close to that of one with *ia*. However, in a statement, *ne* is used more often than not with an animate²⁸ being, and *ia* is used more often with inanimates and also in answers to questions.

When a second NP is introduced, it takes 'iate or kiate for function-markers. These are allomorphs of 'i and ki respectively, as in:

- (6) *na'á ku lea kiate koe*
'I spoke to you.'
 (7) *na'à ke ngalo 'iate au*
'you faded away for me' 'I forgot you.'
 (8) *na'à ne 'asi kiate koe*
'he/she appeared to you'. In English, 'you saw him/her.'

A post-posed pronoun after an intransitive verb is possible only if the two pronouns refer to the same person. The two together either simply re-enforce the first pronoun or express a reflexive verb according to context, for example in:

(9) na'à ku lea au kiate ia
'I spoke to him myself.'

(10) na'à ku lavea au ki he va'e
'I myself was wounded in the leg', 'I hurt myself in the leg.'

In the third person:

(11) na'e lea ia
(12) na'à ne lea } 'he spoke'

(13) na'à ne lea ia 'he himself spoke'

(14) na'e lavea ia
(15) na'à ne lavea } 'he was wounded'

(16) na'à ne lavea ia 'he himself was wounded' or
'he wounded himself',

according to context or extra-linguistic situation.

I shall examine compound verbs next; first, those made of free forms (Bloomfield 1933), then those that are in the process of jelling together and thus form derived verbs, and lastly, those that have come together so tightly that they can be considered today as actual morphemes.

8. COMPOUNDS

In Tongan, lexical morphemes may be made into compounds. In that form, they can in turn function as nouns or verbs according to normal patterns in the language (see above §2). Here are a few examples of verbs, compound and otherwise:

(1) 'oku faikava 'a Sione
'John is at the celebration.'

To this corresponds a noun, é faikava 'the celebration'. Faikava comes from the combination of fai and kava²⁹, as in:

(2) 'oku fai 'e Sione 'ae kavá
pres. prepare John agent Kava (a national drink)

Or again in:

(3) 'oku 'akapulu 'a Sione
'John is playing rugby.'

E 'akapulu means '*the rugby ball*'. This compound may be divided into its constituents, as in:

- (4) 'oku 'aka 'e Sione 'ae pulú
'*John kicks the ball.*'

Given the semantic content of the items involved, an utterance such as '*John is a ball*' would be highly unlikely. Apart from such semantic incompatibilities, these morphemes are free to enter any grammatical combination.³⁰ However, classifying them raises several problems as will be seen hereafter.

8.1. COMPOUNDS VS. NOUN PHRASES

It is often difficult to set up a clear-cut difference between compounds and noun phrases because not all compounds are completely stable and firmly established, but only in the process of becoming a compound. In a sequence of pluri-functionals, whenever the second morpheme of the group is an indefinite marker, it has a zero form.

Must the whole be considered as a compound or as a noun phrase composed of a set morpheme + the indefinite modifier?

Besides, as noted above, indefinite nouns are incompatible with any function-marker, whether 'e-agent, or 'a first NP marker, as in the following:

- (5) 'oku ako ø leá
'*(he) studies languages in general, unspecified.*'

The verbal sentence above contrasts with the following containing a definite article:

- (6) 'oku ako 'a e leá
'*There is study of the language*' i.e. '*(he) studies THE language.*'

Or again:

- (7) 'oku kai 'a e má
'*there is eating, the bread implied*', which most likely means,
'*(he) is eating the bread*'.

This last constraint, no possibility of any function-marker for the second member of these compounds, indicates that they should be classified as intransitives. In other words, the patient function is filled by the second member of the compound. This could be rendered in English by sentences like '*he ball-plays*'. '*he language-teaches*', '*he bread-eats*', and consequently corresponds exactly to these translations in spite of the inverted word-order.

I shall now say a few words about conformations that have become so stabilized that it is difficult to decide if they are compound or single morphemes. They are suffixes added to lexical units, for example, -'a, -a,³¹ -fia, -mia, -sia, etc. These have been a source of constant preoccupation to descriptive linguists of neighbouring languages³², as well as of Tongan: here suffixes of this type have often been interpreted as indicating the passive, a statement with which I do not agree. If grammatical voice is to be interpreted as I do, there must be two opposed verb-forms: one is basic, i.e. suffixless, the other is derived from it, and contains an extra morpheme. If the two can be opposed, and the derived verb indicates an inverted relationship between the verb and its participant(s), that extra morpheme is a voice-marker. The suffixes below trigger no such inversion; the resulting verbs should therefore not be interpreted as passives.

For the most part, examples of suffixed terms have been taken from Churchward's dictionary³³. When questioned about them, my informants responded unanimously: either the derived phrases thus formed are rarely used today, or, on the contrary, they are so common as to be no longer felt as compounds, but as single morphemes. In short, these suffixes seem to be unproductive today, and tend to form either single units, or, more frequently, archaic and highly specialised derivations.

An example of one of these suffixes, -hia, is given below. One common meaning for -hia can be summed up as something to do with 'misfortune, crime, theft, and all sorts of unfortunate events'. For example in:

- (8) kuo fonu-hia e ipú 'i he vai
'the cup overflows with water.'

This can be opposed to:

- (9) kuo fonu 'ae ipú
'the cup is full.'

And my informant adds that (8) is hardly ever used.

Here is another example of a verb with the same suffix:

- (10) kuo fonu-hia 'ae ihu 'e Sioné
'John's nose is full of water.'

Likewise, the noun phrase, kavahia, signifies poisoning by a certain plant; mafanahia 'something which is melted or ruined by the heat'; tonuhia 'to be not guilty'; ko e efuhia 'it is the act of becoming dusty'. Or again with afu, since afu means 'vaporisation, to vaporise'; afuhia means 'the same, but exaggerated', etc.

In certain instances, the derived compound does not construe like its corresponding verbal morpheme. However, because these suffixes are no longer freely productive, examples are too few to establish paradigms. Below is an example of two different constructions:

- (11) na'e tangi 'a Mele 'ia Sione
 past verb, *cried* 1st modifier, *Mary John*
 '*Mary cried over John*'³⁴

The verb-form has an allomorph for the derived verb (tengihia instead of *tangihia):

- (12) na'e tengihia 'e Mele 'a Sione
 past verb, *cried* noun phrase agent 1st modifier
 Mary agent *John*
 '*Mary mourned John*'.

These suffixes are no longer productive today in Tongan, contrary to other related systems. Such as they are, they may sometimes express a passive notion - when they refer to an unfortunate event which their 'a'-marked NP has submitted to - but they never constitute a passive grammatical marker.

Another suffix of the same sort, -mia, may signify 'by accident', as in tanu 'to bury/be buried', and tonumia 'same meaning, + by accident'. In conclusion, these suffixes, even when formally recognisable as suffixes, are neither totally grammatical nor completely lexical. As such, they recall the so-called 'field-suffixes' of Kalispel (Vogt 1940).³⁵ On the contrary, other endings are so frequent that they are no longer felt to be suffixes.³⁶

This brings to a close our analysis of simple units and compounds in Tongan when used as verbs. As has been seen, in a language like Tongan, the role of lexical morphemes can be specified only within the framework of actual sentences. Therefore is it possible to identify these and, if so, in which way? How does the extralinguistic situation stand in regard to the final message? These questions will be dealt with below.

9. TWO DIFFERENT CLASSES OF UNITS: LEXICAL VS. GRAMMATICAL

Let us compare, first of all, the lexical morphemes of Tongan to those of a language with pre-established grammatical categories. In a language like English, for example, each unit in a sentence has a pre-established, specific role. On the contrary, in a language with no pre-determined grammatical categories, morphemes do not belong to any one particular class. Their quality as verb, adjective, etc., is determined by their specific context, and thus varies from one context to another.

One possible way to classify such units would be to list them separately in the lexicon (such would probably be the practice in *lexicase* - see Starosta). But here this method would not apply: it would be a pity to obscure both the common identity of these units and their functional differences.

In such a language, it is impossible to ascribe a basic function and value to any lexical morpheme. The term, 'morpheme categories' which means that certain morphemes fulfill certain preferred functions rather than others, can be replaced by the term 'functional classes', since these functions are determined by the context³⁷ and the extra-linguistic situation. But a sentence, like a sign, conveys meaning³⁸; through this meaning it belongs to the conventional linguistic code of the language, it participates in what has been codified, and therefore is classifiable, conventional and linguistic.

This is altogether different from the meaning it obtains from its participation in the pragmatic³⁹ situation, for these are two separate planes. This last is physical, concrete, it belongs to continuous reality.

In a language, concrete reality is classifiable only if it fits into a model chosen by the speaker within his language's system of conventions. Syntactic functions help to order the various elements of this model. Functions, just like the system's morphemes, participate in the code which is used in this system; hence they are conventional to it. They are different from one system to the other; whether they are pre-established or defined *hic* and *nunc* as in Tongan, they are always present in any language system. (Tchekhoff 1979a).

It may be hypothesised that a language whose syntax is maximal is far less dependent on the situation than another whose morphemes are, more often than not, simply juxtaposed. In the latter case, relationships between morphemes are made explicit only when situation is not clear in itself, or when it lacks information altogether. One can say then, that the more explicit a language's syntactic functions, the less the language depends on the extra-linguistic situation. In the end, there is an inverted proportion between pragmatics and syntax.

The following paragraph deals with a new instance of the intervention of the situation in order to clarify the spoken message. Then, in the pages that follow, our outlook will be the exact opposite: I shall point out several restrictions on this free use of lexical morphemes. These restrictions may be systematic (e.g., as with the ordering of NPs) and also purely semantic (e.g., as in Tongan's extreme sensitivity towards lexico-syntactic incompatibilities.) Finally, there may be other semantic restrictions of a different sort, as will be seen

immediately hereafter.

10. THE DEFINITE ACCENT AND THE ROLE OF THE SITUATION

The uses of the definite accent in Tongan and its different meanings, show the importance of the extra-linguistic situation in decoding the spoken message. It has been seen that the definite accent is a discontinuous part of the definite marker. It can change the meaning of the whole sentence, as in:

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| (1) | ko ⁴⁰ | e pule | 'a Sione |
| | predicate forming | nominal predicate | 1st modifying NP |
| | particle | <i>the head (boss)</i> | <i>John</i> |
| | 'John is a boss.' | | |
| (2) | ko e pule 'a Sioné | | |
| | 'He is John's boss.' | | |

Here 'a Sione cum accent is a possessive modifier to the head noun. This sentence may have a third meaning, as well: *'It's John's authority'*, without any change in syntax. In certain cases, e pule has a concrete meaning, elsewhere it takes on an abstract meaning. The only formal difference between (1) and (2) is the absence of the definite accent in (1), and its presence in (2): One might be inclined to think the accent were essential in this opposition, but this is not the case. Let us replace the proper noun by a common noun, as in:

- (3) ko e pule 'ae tangata with no accent means *'the man is a boss'*; and my informant adds that the speaker does not know him very well.

But with the accent:

- (4) ko e pule 'ae tangatá has three possible meanings, depending on the situation: *'he is the man's boss'* or *'it is the man's authority'*; also it is the usual way of saying *'the man is a boss'*.

Proper nouns and common nouns are handled differently in terms of the definite accent. One immediate reason for this discrepancy: the use of the Christian name implies that the speaker knows the person well. The accent would then be redundant:

- (5) 'oku 'i ai e pepe 'ae tangatá means *'the man has a baby'* as well as *'the baby of the man is here'*.

If the speaker is unfamiliar with the man in question, other factors such as the situation, context, social and personal relationships between speakers, will cancel out any ambiguity in the above sentence; because of all these extra-linguistic features inherent to the Tongan

social situation, the message is not ambiguous, it is perfectly straight forward.

In short, the presence or absence of the accent may - but does not have to - change the structure of the sentence. Nothing in the sentence informs us as to which meaning should be retained. The situation makes such precision unnecessary. Obviously, the situation is intrinsically extra-linguistic. As such, it contributes to the meaning of the spoken string, but only covertly so, since it is never spoken, *a fortiori*, never written.

Certain functions may seem essential to speakers of one language: voice for verbs in English for instance, and yet they can be ignored in another system; the unspoken extra-linguistic situation in one language may correspond to a grammatical feature in another. For example, voice-openness in Tongan vs. active/passive in English.

Thus, the Tongan system shows great flexibility. It contains three features pointing in the same direction, i.e., morpheme openness:

- 1) no pre-established, distinct categories of verbs as opposed to nouns;
- 2) a voice-neutral verb; and
- 3) lexical morphemes with many different possible uses. But such a system, because of its very flexibility, would hardly be workable without corresponding constraints on all these rheoretical possibilities. I shall now examine some restrictions on the basic voice-neutrality of two-place verbs.

11. RESTRICTIONS ON THE BASIC VOICE-NEUTRALITY OF AGENT-COMPATIBLE VERBS

Today, many two-place verbs, when they appear without an agent NP, lose their openness for voice, and so can be divided into two semantic groups: those that have an active meaning, and those with a passive one. These meanings remain purely semantic, since there is no formal indication of these values.

A statistical count ought to be made of the three sub-classes of agent-compatible verbs in Tongan according to their behaviour in a sentence without an agent: those that retain their openness for voice and thus rely on pragmatics to make their meaning complete; those that are actor-focussed, i.e., whose meaning is active, and those that are patient-focussed, i.e., whose meaning is passive. A statistical evaluation of these three groups is not possible here. I shall only give examples of each of these sub-groups.

Those 'verbs' which make use of their basic voice-neutrality and openness can be called fundamental 'verbs'. They are used very frequently and express simple operations that actually describe

movement from one participant to another. The predicated operation actively moves from actor to goal. The following list of examples is non-exhaustive, but fairly representative of the typical semantic and syntactic traits of these voice-open verbs.

kai 'to eat, to be eaten'; inu 'to drink, to be drunk'; ui 'to call, to be called'; taki 'to lead, to be led'; hoka 'to shove, to be shoved'; pa 'to beat, to be beaten'; lalanga 'to weave, to be woven'; langa 'to raise, to be raised'; 'ene 'to tickle, to be tickled'; fana 'to shoot, to be shot (hunting)', etc.

11.1. ACTOR-FOCUSSED VERBS

Here are some examples of sentences where an 'a-marked NP, when alone, acts as actor of the verbal operation. First, with tamate 'to kill, to be killed':

- (1) na'e tamate 'a Sione
past verb, to kill/to be killed John
always means 'John killed' and never 'John was killed'.

It is worth noting that in the language of Futuna⁴¹, the same sentence with tamate + 'a-marked NP and no agent, has the opposite value, i.e., 'was killed' instead of 'killed'. Accordingly, these differences can be interpreted as secondary, diverging branches of the same original - one in Tongan, the other in Futunan - in an evolutionary process that started with the same common voice-neutral verb.

This value of the 'a-marked NP is not sustained by a grammatical function: indeed, in a sentence with an 'e-marked agent, this value as actor of the 'a-marked NP disappears; the NP then resumes its proper role as semantic goal of the verb, as in:

- (2) na'e tamate 'e Mele 'a Sione
'Mary killed John'.

The verb tá 'to hit/be hit', belongs in the same group:

- na'e tá 'a Mele⁴² 'Mary hit (the guitar)' but
na'e tá 'e Sione 'a Mele 'John hit Mary'.

When no agent is expressed, verbs of the following sub-group have a passive meaning.

11.2. PATIENT-FOCUSSED VERBS

The following: 'ilo 'to find/be found', 'ave 'to bring/be brought', belong to the patient-focussed verb group:

- (3) na'e 'ilo 'a e fa'é
'the mother was found'.

In such instances, 'ae is sometimes replaced by ē. But in that case, according to our informant, ae and ē are no longer allomorphs of the same meaningful unit, they become two distinct morphemes: with ē instead of 'ae as function-marker to the NP, as in:

- (4) na'e 'ilo ē fa'é, the verb retains its openness for voice.
It allows for a double translation: 'the mother was found'
and 'the mother found', therefore, 'she knows',⁴³.

Here again the language resorts to the use of a strategy, to cancel out what has come to be felt as undesirable ambiguity.

In the same way, 'ave 'to bring', makes a goal of its NP or pronoun modifier:

- (5) na'e 'ave ia
'he was brought'
(6) na'e 'ave 'ae fa'é
'the mother was brought'.

Thus with these patient-focussed verbs, if the 'a-marked NP appears alone, it automatically bears the semantic role of a patient.

If, however, the speaker wants to give this NP an actor-value, he may do so by topicalising the actor NP and giving it a co-referential agent-pronoun preceding the verb, as in:

- (7) ko e fa'e na'à ne 'ave
topic marker mother past agent pronoun to bring/be brought
This translates well into spoken French 'la mère elle a apporté', except that in French, as in English, the object of the bringing must be expressed.

In the same way:

- (8) ko e Mele na' a ne tā
'la mère, elle a frappé'. Again:
(9) koe fa'e na'a ne 'ave
topic mother past tense agent pronoun verb, to bring/
marker she to be brought
'mother/she brought', i.e., 'the mother did the bringing'.

In the same way:

- (10) koe Mele na'à ne tā
topic Mary past tense 3rd person agent verb, to hit,
marker pronoun, she to be hit⁴⁴
'Mary/she hit' i.e., 'Mary did the hitting'.

Thus the use of topic-marker + NP + coreferential pronoun + verb can be said to be a strategy against Tongan transitive verbs' basic openness for voice.

There are, then, various ways of stabilising the meaning of sentences in one direction or another. These go against verbal openness when it is not useful. All seems to point to an evolution away from verbal voice-openness, and towards more precisely defined grammatical relations between the verb and its nominal 'a'-marked modifier. A possible explanation of this trend in grammar is that, as economic and cultural life becomes more complex in modern times, so also the situation is no longer always present and ready to sustain the meaning of the spoken words; consequently language itself must become more self-reliant.

I shall now turn to the examination of tense and aspect for Tongan verbs.

12. ASPECT⁴⁵ VS. TENSE⁴⁶

Aspect and tense make up two different grammatical systems⁴⁷. This means that, generally speaking, each one is compatible with a unit of another pair, but incompatible with and opposed to, the other units within its own paradigm. However, there are instances when the notions of aspect and tense are very closely related, as for example, in the perfect tense; but in Tongan, they always have a different formal mark, and so they can and must be carefully distinguished at all times.

There are four verbal tense-markers in Tongan: present 'oku; future 'e/te⁴⁸, past na'e and perfect kuo. In Tongan 'oku, present tense marker, takes on both a general value, and that of a marked progressive present, as in French but not in English:

- (1) 'oku ngaue 'a Mele means both '*Mary works*' (in general) and '*Mary is working (now)*.'

The opposition between past and perfect must be developed more carefully. Consider the next sentence:

- (2) 'oku lelei '*present, good*' means '*alright, fine, I agree*'
 (3) na'e lelei '*It was good*' in the past and
 (4) kuo lelei⁴⁹ '*perfect, good*' means '*things have been taken care of, and as a result, things are alright.*'

With na'e 'past tense' the entire verbal operation is set in the past; with kuo '*perfect*' the operation started in the past but it is still going on in the present. Thus, it stretches over a period of time; as such it could be classified as an aspect but since it belongs to the same grammatical paradigm as the other three tenses, it must be classified as a tense.

Several lexico-syntactic incompatibilities result from this meaning of the perfect. For instance, fa'a '*often*' is compatible with the past

tense, na'e, but not with the perfect, kuo. As in

- (5) na'e fa'a tokonia au 'e he kakai
 past often, help goal pronoun, me agent NP, the people
 'people often helped me.'

But this sentence is unacceptable in the perfect.

12.1. THE EXPRESSION OF MOODS IN TONGAN

In general, moods can be distinguished from aspects in the following way: they can be said to express the manner of the verbal operation in regard to human factors, such as desire (optative), possibility (potential), will (conditional), knowing a fact for certain or only through hearsay (non-assertive mood as in Avar, Tchekhoff 1979d and forthcoming) etc...

For a system to have grammatical moods, these must be marked for form as well as meaning, i.e. it must have special mood-marking morphemes. It will be seen that Tongan has no such grammatical category, although it can of course express any modal meanings though purely lexical means.

Taking up again lelei 'good, alright', the following sentence has the meaning of an unreal mood in the past:

- (6) na'e lelei kapau na'a ke talangofua means
 'it would have been better if you had behaved properly.'

Similar shades of meaning may be expressed by the future marker, 'e, instead of the present, 'oku. In that case, the sentence may express doubt, a feature it does not have in the present:

- (7) na'e talamai 'e ia 'e ha'u
 past tense verb, NP exp. agent, future verb,
 marker to say himself tense marker to come

This utterance is made up of two independent, juxtaposed sentences. It means, 'he said he would come (it is not certain).'

On the contrary, the following utterance is clearly affirmative; it has the same structure, but the present tense replaces the future.

- (8) na'e talamai 'e ia 'oku ha'u
 'he said he was coming (it is certain).'

However, for these modal meanings to be possible, context and situation must call for them. Otherwise the markers in question assume their usual temporal meanings devoid of any and all modal values. Therefore, these specific interpretations are strictly occasional and do not correspond to any grammatical morpheme defined as such, or to a

specific construction. If no moods as such can be said to exist in Tongan, opposing aspects do exist - they will be analysed next.

13. ASPECTS

As has been suggested above (see note 45), aspects can be said to concern the behaviour of the verbal operation with respect to two parameters that belong to the outside world, time and space.

One proper, oppositional, aspectual pair can be established in Tongan, that is, **general unmarked** vs. **perfective**⁵⁰, this last being marked by an **-i**⁵¹ suffix. With an **'i**-marked verb, the verbal operation is considered as thoroughly and successfully carried out. For Tevita and Veiongo, this means including both its ends, agent, *terminus a quo*, as well as patient, *terminus ad quem*. For Siosiane, it means that both participants must be singular and definite: she feels that a process cannot be carried out thoroughly and completely if its participants are collective or imprecise. Thus, in practice there are some variations as to the use of this **'i** aspect, but they all point to this same necessity: with an **-i** perfective suffix, the verbal operation is more thorough, more successful than without it. Hence also its accrued and explicit specificity. Two important points must be made here: first, general unmarked means that the verbal operation is neutral from the point of view of the perfective aspect, not that it is positively imperfective. If perfective means that the operation is carried to its end, its general counterpart does not mean that it stops in mid-air so to speak, it just gives no information on that score. Secondly, it must be understood that no temporal concept is implied in the terms general vs. perfective⁵², such as they are used to indicate aspect in Tongan. The following examples make these two points clear:

- (1) na'e fana 'e Sione 'a Mele
 'John shot at Mary', in the past tense, general unmarked, for aspect, vs:
- (2) na'e fana 'i 'e Sione 'a Mele
 past tense verb, to perfective
 shoot down aspect John Mary
 (dead)
- 'John shot Mary (and got her).'*

More examples of this aspectual opposition will be given further down. But first a few words must be said about the connection between this aspect and the various tenses in Tongan.

14 PERFECTIVE ASPECT AND PERFECT TENSE

As has just been seen, the perfective aspect expresses the thoroughness and success of the verbal operation. These may of course have an effect on its result. On the other hand, we know (see above §2) that the perfect sometimes has a resultative value, so the latter can be brought about from tense as well as from aspect. But the two must not be confused, first because of their different form, and also because perfective aspect and perfect tense are used differently by different native speakers. The question will now be considered first for transitive, then for intransitive verbs.

My informants⁵⁴ disagree as to the restrictions placed upon the perfective aspect and the scope allowed it by the various tenses. For one of them, Tevita Holo, the perfective aspect is entirely independent of the grammatical tense it accompanies; for Paul and Siosiane Bloomfield, it is compatible only with past tenses. Possibly, this may mean that aspect is losing its specificity, slowly merging with tense, and may eventually disappear in a fairly near future and be replaced by tenses.

Let us examine in detail these differences: according to Tevita, a young man about twenty-five years old, both the perfective and imperfective aspect are compatible with all tenses, including present and future. This implies that for Tevita tense and aspect are two distinct sign systems. Moreover, he admits all types of noun participants - singular as well as collective, animate and inanimate - with both aspects, the perfective as well as its general, unmarked opposite.

Siosane is a young woman of about the same age, but according to her, the perfective aspect is compatible with only one of the two past tenses; both NP modifiers must be specific and, preferably, singular. Paul, her husband, is slightly older than she is: while he places the same temporal restrictions upon the perfective aspect, in his idiolect, NP modifiers may be collective and/or undetermined as well as specific. Furthermore, Tevita claims that the agent must be expressed with the perfective aspect. Neither Paul nor Siosane mentioned this last restriction, but their examples (see below) show that with an 'i suffixed verb, the agent is always implied even if not expressed. In Green's terms (1980), "...i derived verbs must be controlled". I agree with this analysis.

Presently, the various restrictions outlined by our informants will be examined in more detail.

Tevita: let us remember that for him the perfective aspect is compatible with every tense, under one condition, however: the agent

must be expressed. This requirement may be interpreted as a feature of syntactic ergativity. For, in an accusative construction, with the same necessity of a perfective aspect that would have to express both participants, the obligation would be reversed:

Accusative construction:

V + general unmarked aspect: object optional

V + perfective aspect: object compulsory

Ergative construction:

V + general unmarked aspect: agent optional

V + perfective aspect: agent compulsory

(For an interpretation of Indonesian verbal suffix *-i* in those terms, see Tchekhoff 1978c). This requirement of Tongan will be taken up again later on. Here is an example of the same verb, first unmarked, then *-i* marked:

- (1) na'e tā 'e Sione 'a Mele

'John hit at Mary' (but he did not necessarily reach her).

The sentence does not say. Here the agent is optional. But with the perfective aspect suffix, *'i*, we get:

- (2) na'e tā'i 'e Sione 'a Mele

'John hit Mary (and got her).'

In other words, *'he beat her up'*⁵⁵. For my three informants, (2) is "more serious" (as Siosiane put it) than (1) because in (2) the blows reached their destination, whereas in (1) the sentence is neutral as to the success of the verbal operation. Here is a somewhat more complex example:

- (3) koe inu 'oku fakakona'i 'e Mele

'it is a drink poisoned by Mary' = 'it is a drink that Mary poisoned.'

If we omit the suffix, we get:

- (4) ko e inu 'oku fakakona 'e Mele⁵⁶
present verb agent

which has a meaning related to (3). But the difference between the two is the following according to our informant's analysis: without the suffix, the poisoning of the drink is made less specific. The utterance does not express it as an undeniable fact; therefore, the affirmation is not as downright. "The speaker does not want to accuse Mary even if he pronounces her name in the sentence" (quote). With the *'i* suffix, she is clearly involved and must be expressed as such.

To Tevita and also Veiongo, (as I cross-checked by correspondance with the latter),

- (5) na'e fana'i 'a Mele 'x shot Mary' is incomplete.

Between Tevita's and Veiongo's idiolects just above, and Siosiane's, there are a few differences: the latter, contrary to Tevita, does not readily accept the perfective aspect with any but the past and perfect tenses. Here are a few examples of these constructions as she gave them to me: in the past tenses, na'e and kuo, Siosiane dissociates the two types of markers, aspectual and temporal. For example,

- (6) na'e/kuo hiva 'e he kau hiva 'ae himf⁵⁷
'the choir sang the hymn.'

In the present and the future, however, these utterances are acceptable only with the general unmarked aspect, because, notes our informant, "'i means that it is done, accomplished":

- (7) 'oku/'e hiva 'e he kau hiva 'ae himf
'the choir sings/will sing the hymn.'

But

- (8) *'oku/'e hiva'i... in the present or future tenses is not acceptable to Siosiane.

According to these restrictions to the perfective aspect in Siosiane's idiolect, and to her own statement on the matter, the meaning of perfective comes closer to accomplished, hence closer to a temporal value: it tends towards accomplished because it is over, past. Besides, Siosiane shows further constraints on the NP participants in a verbal operation with the perfective aspect; they can help to clarify the exact value of this perfective aspect as she uses it.

15. THE PERFECTIVE ASPECT AND MODIFYING NPS

For Siosiane, the 'a-marked NP must be specific and singular, as well as the agent, a restriction that did not hold for Tevita.

- a) Constraints on the agent NP.

The two following sentences both have a perfective aspect:

- (1) na'e tokonia'i⁵⁸ au 'e Sione
'John has helped me' in the past.
(2) kuo tokonia'i au 'e Sione
'John has helped me in a closer past (it may still be going on).'

Here, with a very precise and singular agent, the -'i suffixed perfective aspect, is compulsory for past as well as for perfect tenses.

For these two tenses, our informant refuses utterances with a general unmarked aspect, as in:

- (3) *na'e/kuo tokonia⁵⁹ au 'e Sione. The latter is unacceptable in her idiolect.

However, if this singular, specific agent is changed to one that has indefinite, unspecified referential reality, the perfective aspect is not possible, i.e., the -'i suffix is unacceptable. For instance in:

- (4) kuo tokonia au 'e he kakai '*the people helped me*' but not
(5) *kuo tokonia'i⁵⁹ au 'e he kakai.

These conflicting constraints come from the referential identity of the agent: if precise, the verb must take the perfective aspect, if vague, indefinite, it cannot do so.

b) Constraints on the goal NP: In the same way

- (6) na'e/kuo fana 'e he tamaiki 'ae manupuna
'*the children shot at the birds.*'

is acceptable, but not

- (7) *na'e/kuo fana'i 'e he tamaiki 'a e manupuna

because, says Siosiane, "you cannot shoot down all the birds".⁵⁹

Instead of this, she offers fana 'i '*to shoot + perfective aspect*', in a sentence whose participants are "precise and singular", she says. For instance, when replacing 'ae manupuna '*the birds*', by one person, 'a Mele:

- (8) na'e/kuo fana'i 'e Sione 'a Mele '*John shot down Mary*',⁶⁰

Thus the same constraint obtains for the goal NP as it does for the agent: the goal also of a perfective verb must be singular and precise. This tallies with our definition of the perfective aspect in Tongan, as expressing the whole verbal operation, from beginning to end, that is, implying both participants, its origin, the agent NP, as well as its application to its goal.

Nonetheless, there are times when Siosiane accepts sentences with the perfective aspect suffix, 'i, with tenses such as the present and the future, as in:

- (9) 'oku ne tā'i au '*he beats me up.*' as opposed to:

- (10) 'oku ne tā au '*he hits at me, he takes a swipe at me*',

the latter in the unmarked, general aspect. Here the temporal value of the 'i suffix disappears altogether, it bears a purely aspectual meaning. Whatever the tense, using the perfective aspect makes the

message more 'serious', its operation more effective, than with the neutral, unmarked aspect. With perfective 'i, the verbal operation actually reaches its goal. Without it, its effect remains unspecified.

However, it does happen that referential habits of the linguistic community impose upon the whole string a specific, fixed meaning. In such cases, this meaning is no longer equal to the sum of the components of a sentence, but has been stabilised into something altogether different.⁶¹ For example in:

(11) 'oku ako 'e he faiako 'ae tohi 'the teacher studies the book'
but

(12) 'oku ako'i 'e he faiako 'a e tohi 'the teacher teaches writing.'

The importance of the context is obvious: the contrastive compatibilities between ako/ako'i when surrounded by faiako and tohi, alter the meaning of the string. This is an example of the lexicalisation of an opposition which was formerly due to the syntax of the units involved.

There are other purely socio-cultural constraints, like the one that makes kai 'to eat' substandard when used with the 'i suffix. And I quote exactly from my letter to Veiongo and her answer to it:
Question: "Can you say 'oku kai'i 'ae me'akai complete by itself?"
pres. eat perf. food

Answer: "No, I think it is purely custom as it is not respectable to use kai'i. Hardly use it unless they are close friends whom you don't bother as they will accept you." (sic) Thus this constraint is not a syntactic impossibility, but one of social usage. But this type of constraint obtains only for kai 'eat'. It does not hold for 'inu 'drink'; here for Veiongo as well as Tevita, the agent must be expressed, as in:

(13) 'oku 'inu'i 'e Mele 'ae lemani
pres. drink perf. Mary agent lemon
'Mary drinks up the lemonade.'

'e Mele is compulsory here.

Paul, Siosiane's husband's idiolect exhibits the same temporal restrictions, but specifies nothing as to the semantic quality of the agent. This fact takes us one step further away from the specificity of this aspect, and closer to its merger with tense.

15.1. 'ilo, 'ilo'i and 'iloa

This aspect, verb + 'i suffix, explains a triple opposition - applicable for the entire linguistic community - between three terms, 'ilo, 'ilo'i and 'iloa. As was mentioned earlier, 'ilo means 'to find',

for example in:

- a) 'oku 'iko 'e Sione 'a Mele *'John finds Mary.'*

As for 'ilo'i it may be translated as *'to know (since one has found)'*:

b) 'oku 'ilo'i 'e Sione 'a Mele means either *'John succeeds in finding Mary'* or *'John knows Mary.'*⁶³ It will be noted that both sentences are in the present tense. In the perfect tense, 'llo can also mean *'to know because one has found'*. Here there is an interference between the meanings of perfect tense and perfective aspect. If the speaker wants to say that Mary is generally well known, without mentioning the person(s) who know her, he will use 'iloa instead of 'llo'i; in this way he need not express the agent:

- c) 'oku 'iloa 'a Mele *'Mary is well-known.'*⁶⁴

The word ending, -a of 'iloa, is part of a series of old suffixes which are hardly productive today. Other similar suffixes have already been mentioned above,⁶⁵ which are still productive today. It is clear that the semantic opposition between 'ilo *'to find'* and 'ilo'i *'to know'* has come about because of the perfective aspect. However, in the present state of the language it seems to have become widely lexicalised.

We shall now examine the 'i suffix when it is added to agent-incompatible verbs.

16. AGENT-INCOMPATIBLE VERBS AND THE PERFECTIVE ASPECT

The following examples have been agreed upon by all our informants. An agent-incompatible verb + 'i perfective aspect becomes agent-compatible; this again follows from this aspect's definition: the verbal operation must be a definite one, with a specific point of departure, as well as a point of application, one where it comes to rest.

- (1) oku 'uma 'a Sione mo Mele
'John and Mary kiss.'

But

- (2) *'oku 'uma 'e Sione 'a Mele
'John kisses Mary.'

is not acceptable. In order to say *'John kisses Mary'* in Tongan, perfective 'i must be added to the verb, making it an agent-compatible verb. Here, of course, that is the first functional value of the suffix. Accordingly, its perfective meaning is less important:

- (3) 'oku 'uma'i 'e Sione 'a Mele
'John kisses Mary.'

In the same way:

- (4) 'e (fut.) mohe ('sleep') 'a Sione
'John will go to sleep.'

(5) 'e mohe'i (perfective) 'e Sione (agent) 'ae 'aho kakatoa
'(the whole day)' 'John will sleep the whole day'
with 'the whole day' as goal NP. This corresponds to English ...
'sleep the whole day away'. Again:

- (6) na'e fa'ele 'a Mele
'Mary gave birth'
(7) na'e fa'ele'i 'e Mele 'a Fifita
'Mary gave birth to Fifita.'

When the agent NP is deleted, the result is:

- (8) na'e fa'ele'i 'a Fifita
'x gave birth to Fifita.'

Consider (8) with a verb + 'i and (6), the same sentence, but with an unmarked basic verb. From one to the other, the situation has been totally reversed. In (6), the 'a-marked NP is actor, in (8) it is goal. This reversal has sometimes been analysed as a voice-transform, consequently the 'i suffix as a voice-marker, and the derived verb as a passive (Lynch 1969, 1972). This question will now be examined in some detail.

16.1. VOICE IN TONGAN?

Our analysis will deal first with the mechanism of the 'i suffix when used with those verbs which may take an agent, and then with those which may not.

The 'i suffix with agent-compatible verbs. Let us recall the definition of the perfective aspect, i.e., a verbal operation that is considered in its entirety, and successfully carried out. In certain idiolects, this may entail the presence of both its participants, viz., agent and goal. As has been seen above, in Tevita's idiolect, with a perfective verb, the 'e-marked agent NP must be expressed. Therefore, as soon as the speaker pronounces such a suffixed verb, the listener knows that the 'a-marked NP is not the author of the verbal operation, but its goal. In this light, we know that a sentence with a basic verb as

- (9) na'e fana 'a Mele

may be used in two opposing situations, either 'Mary shot (with a rifle)', or 'Mary was shot at.'

But:

- (10) na'e fana'i ('e x) 'a Mele
 '*x shot (and hit) Mary*'

implies, by the very presence of the verbal suffix, the presence of an agent, even if this is deleted⁶⁶, as in:

- (11) na'e fana 'i... 'a Mele

Here Mary is, with no possible ambiguity, the non-agent, i.e. the victim of the operation. This can be translated by a passive in English.

While Tevita said 'with 'i, you have to say who did it' (sic) i.e., it follows that in this idiolect the agent must be expressed, Siosiane and her husband Paul, go one logical step further: for them there is no need to express the agent since it is implied anyway by the perfect aspect. These informants, then, use the perfective aspect for its semantic value on the one hand, and also for its syntactic information, i.e. it unambiguously makes a patient of the 'a-marked NP. The voice-neutrality of the verb is cancelled out by this perfective aspect. This information may be summed up as follows: basic, primary verb + 'a-marked NP = verb + author or goal but, verb + 'i + 'a-marked NP = verb + goal.

The agent, since it is implied in any case, no longer needs to be expressed in order to be present: therefore, whenever its identity is known from context or situation, it may tend to have a zero-expression. Here, then, is a new strategy to counteract basic verbs' openness for voice. This strategy has far-reaching syntactic consequences, for a new situation has been created: since the verb itself (because of its suffix) now implies an agent and a non-agent, for this very reason it becomes oriented for voice; and it can now become the marked member of an oppositive pair for voice: accordingly, since (11) above na'e fana'i Mele means '*Mary was shot*', its opposite unmarked correspondent na'e fana 'a Mele as in (9) ought to have an exclusively active meaning, '*Mary shot*'; but it is not so, since fana is open for voice, i.e. it can translate either our active or our passive voice (see §3 above) so there is no symmetrical oppositional pair; therefore it cannot be said that the Tongan verbal system has a proper voice-transform.

However, there is one group of agent-compatible verbs in Tongan where a sentence with verb + 'a-marked NP and no agent, always does have an active meaning: these verbs are said to be actor-focussed; they have been studied above (§11). They specialise in an active meaning for their 'a-marked NP when no agent is expressed. As in:

(12) na'e tamate 'a Mele '*Mary killed*' as opposed to

(13) na'e tamate'i 'a Mele '*(x) killed Mary*' hence '*Mary was killed*'.

Can we speak of a voice-transform? Undoubtedly we may in this case, but only for this sub-group of two-place verbs.

Thus, the perfective aspect, as expressed by the '-i suffix - in certain cases does trigger off a voice-transformation. But such a transformation remains dependent upon the semantic quality of verbs; it is never systematic.

Thus the germs of a proper systematic voice transform are present in Tongan, but as yet only for those agent-compatible verbs which, when agentless, have an active meaning (§11 above) as in example (13) immediately hereabove. But the same transform does not hold with verbs that exercise their full openness for voice as fana above, nor with those that, when simple, with general unmarked aspect, are goal-focussed in:

(14) na'e 'ave 'a Mele '*Mary was brought*' as above, the verbal operation is goal-focussed, with or without the 'i suffix:

(15) na'e ave'i 'a Mele '*Mary was brought + perfective aspect*'. Here the 'i suffix has its full aspectual value; its effects no reversal of the verbal orientation. Thus, it is impossible to speak of a consistent voice-transform at present, although this situation could be the makings of one in the future. (Tchekhoff 1979c:407-418)

The mechanism of semantic passivisation when the perfective aspect is added to verbs that are incompatible with an agent will be examined next.

17. SEMANTIC PASSIVISATION OF 'i PERFECTIVE ASPECT + AGENT-INCOMPATIBLE VERBS

Here again there is a difference between those basic verbs which have an active and those with a passive meaning, (although, as has been seen above (§11), all of these verbs belong to the same over-all basic paradigm); for instance

(1) as above 'oku 'ofa 'a Mele '*Mary is a loving person*'; but

(2) 'oku 'ofa'i 'a Mele with the perfective aspect, means '*somebody unspecified applies the fact of being affectionate to Mary*', in other words, '*Mary is loved*'.

Elsewhere, the suffixed verb may have a different meaning altogether from the unsuffixed, primary verb. For example in: sio '*to see*' vs.

sio'i 'to peer at someone or something specific', as in:

- (3) na'e sio'i 'e Mele 'a Sione 'Mary peered at John.'

With agent deleted from the sentence with an 'i suffixed verb, one gets

- (4) na'e sio'i a Sione '(x) peered at John' i.e. 'someone we know but don't want to name peered at John'

which is close (although not equivalent) to 'John was peered at'.

In the same way:

- (5) kuo lea 'a Mele 'Mary spoke.' But

- (6) kuo lea'i 'e Mele 'a Sione 'Mary scolded John', etc.

Let us now apply the same perfective suffix to verbs of the same class that already have a passive meaning when in the primary, suffixless basic form: as in (§4) above

- (7) na'e lavea 'a Mele 'Mary was wounded.'

With the perfective aspect, the sentence becomes:

- (8) na'e fakalavea'i 'e Sione 'a Mele
'John caused (faka) Mary to be wounded' = 'John wounded Mary.'

Note that the prefix, faka, indicates cause; but it does not alter the orientation of the verb; as such, it will not be dealt with in detail here.⁶⁷

It is worth stressing that in both utterances, both (7) above and (8), Mary is the victim of the wounding; the 'a-marked NP remains the semantic goal. Therefore, this aspect is not primarily a voice-transformation process. Should the latter occur, it is, here again, due to the inherent semantic nature of the verb.⁶⁸

To sum up, we have just examined the functioning of the 'i suffixed verb, first with lexical NP modifiers and then with pronouns. We have pointed out that this suffix must not be analysed as a voice-marker. Nonetheless, in certain instances, for example when it is linked to primary actor-focussed verbs, it may function as such. (See Tchekhoff 1979c.)

This concludes my study of verbs in Tongan. I shall now examine nouns and their various functions: equivalence and possession are expressed with nominal predicates. Three other points will be discussed next: first, I shall show how nominal possessives may compensate for the lack of verbal voice. Second, I shall compare ko + NP sentences to tense + verb sentences. Last, I shall study those aspectual oppositions which result from the above comparison.

18. NOUN-PREDICATES

When it stands alone in an independent sentence, *ko* instead of marking topic marks a predicate NP, as in (1) *ko e tamasi'i* 'it is the child'. Such predicates are incompatible with tense-markers; they express equivalence and possession in Tongan as will be seen next.

18.1. THE EXPRESSION OF EQUIVALENCE

The expression of equivalence is incompatible with tense, possibly because an equivalence is felt to be, and expressed as, timeless.⁶⁹

But it may happen that equivalence needs to be specified for tense. In that case, how will the language be able to manage equivalence and tense? It will revert to the tense + verb sentence-pattern, using a 'dummy' verb, one that will act as a mere intermediary between tense and the real NP predicate; as in:

- (2) *na'e 'i ai 'ae ui*⁷⁰
 past 'dummy' verb 'a-marked 1st NP modifier
 'there was a call.'

Again,

- (3) *kuo 'i ai e 'alu* 'there was a departure', or
 (4) *kuo 'i ai 'ae tamate* 'there was a murder.'

The phrase *'i ai* normally means 'in there'. In this predicative use, however, it has been 'delexicalised', so to speak⁷¹, because of its new function as a verbal intermediary between tense and NP. Should the utterance contain a proper function-marker indicating place, it can be expressed by another NP in the string, as in:

- (5) *kuo 'i ai ē tamate 'i he falé* 'there was a murder in the house.'

The function of *'i ai* consists in linking two elements which are otherwise incompatible. Thus its mechanism is similar to our own copula. In Tongan, with *'i ai* functioning as a verb, as in English 'is' or 'was', a predicative value is assigned to a nominal element that cannot normally assume one. That is why in such uses *'i ai* may be analysed as a copula, *mutatis mutandis*, even if it does not conform to our own copula.

The opposition between the three types of predicates in Tongan may be summed up as follows:

verb: (6) *'oku 'uha* 'it rains/is raining'

noun: (7) *ko e 'uha* 'it's rain' or 'there is rain.'

copula: (8) *na'e 'i ai 'ae ká* 'it was a car', 'there was a car.'

The latter construction may be used to express possession, as will be seen immediately hereafter.

19. THE EXPRESSION OF POSSESSION

In order to express possession, the third sentence-pattern above is used, with an additional 'a-marked NP to express the possessor: this comes after or to the right of the possessed, in keeping with the general type of the language.⁷²

The pattern is the following:

tense marker + copula + 'a-marked NP(possessed) + additional 'a-marked determination(possessor).

For instance in:

- (1) 'oku i ai ē pēpē 'a Mele *'there is a baby Mary' i.e.*
'Mary has a baby.'
- (2) na'e 'i ai e ka 'a Sione *'there was a car John' i.e.*
'John had a car.'

The following sentence-type must be opposed to (2) both in meaning and in form, the only formal difference being the definite accent on the modifier, 'a Sioné:

- (3) na'e 'i ai e ka 'a Sioné *'John's car was there'*

In this last sentence, the verb 'i ai is used with its full lexical value *'is there'*.

Let us now replace, in sentence (2) above, 'a Sione 'John', with a common noun, for instance 'a e fefiné *'the woman'*, as in:

- (4) ma'e 'i ai ē kā 'ae fefiné

Here the definite accent is compulsory, and the sentence can mean either *'the woman had a car'* as above, or *'the car of the woman (whom I hardly know) was there'*. Any ambiguity between the two meanings is cancelled out by the extra-linguistic situation. A distinction is made, then, between the two different forms of proper noun, whereas, for common nouns, the same accented form can convey two different meanings. But even here, there is no ambiguity if the sentence is put back in its appropriate social setting, that of a community where, if you know people at all, you know them specifically.

However, the definite accent remains linguistically relevant when applied to a proper noun: 'a Sione, when it comes after a verb, modifies it directly. It can be opposed to 'a Sioné, coming after another NP: here it modifies its preceding NP, and bears what can be called a genitival relation towards its head-noun, as in:

- (5) 'ae ka 'a Sioné 'John's car.'

However startling these two possibilities for the same sentence may seem to speakers of an entirely different language, it shows the importance of the extra-linguistic situation in Tongan.

I have just analysed the opposition between nominal predicates with predicate-forming, topic-marker, ko, and those which take a tense marker. In the following paragraph, I shall try to stress yet other reasons for which a nominal predicate, although incompatible with tense-markers, is widely preferred in the language.

20. COMPLEX UTTERANCES WITH TWO NOMINAL PREDICATES

Preferential sequences are often made of two independent sentences, that are both introduced by ko; here are some examples:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|--|---------------|---------------------|----|---|----------------------------|
| (1) | ko | e | ngaue | 'a Sione | he taimi ni | ko | e | faka'uli |
| | | | nominal | 1st 'a | circumstantial | NP | | predicate |
| | | | predicate | marked NP | NP | | | |
| | | | <i>it is the work</i> | <i>John's</i> | <i>at this time</i> | | | <i>it is driving a car</i> |
| | | | <i>'John's job at this time is driving.'</i> | | | | | |

The two parts of the structure are built in the same way. Neither segment is a subordinate of the other. Therefore, one cannot be interpreted as modifying the other, except in translation.

- (2) ko e fale ni | ko e fale lelei
'This house, it is a good house.'

This sentence-type shows why ko cannot be completely accounted for, as a topic-marker only: indeed I have said earlier that it can also be a predicate-marker. Here we have two ko -marked noun-phrases; both cannot be topics, for no utterance can be made of topics only. Both segments of this utterance are again complete in themselves; syntactically, neither needs help from the other. But from the point of view of the message, these two sentences form a single information unit. The first segment marks topic, and the second is comment. Going back to the level of syntax, we can say that the second ko sentence is chosen, here, not for its topic-marking property, but because it introduces a predicate that does not need the expression of time.

The utterance above may be opposed to the following, with one predicate only:

- (3) ko e fale lelei (good) e fale ni (this house)
'This house is a good house.'

Again:

- (4) ko e tangi ko e tā 'e Pita
it is the act of crying Peter agent
it is the act of hitting

In other words, *'he is crying because Peter hit him.'* Here Peter's act is the cause of the tears, therefore, it precedes the crying, in time (but not in the spoken string), and the past need not be expressed. But if we want to put the crying in the past, the first nominal predicate must be changed to a verbal predicate; since, as will be remembered, a nominal predicate cannot take a tense mark:

- (5) na'e tangi | ko e tā 'e Pita
'He was crying because Peter hit him.'

In the next example, one verbal sentence *cum* tense marker precedes a pronominal one:

- (6)
- | | | | | | |
|------------|-----------|-----------------------|--|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| na'e | hange | ia | | ko | au |
| past | predicate | 3rd person
pronoun | | predicate
forming | 1st person
patient pronoun |
| to be like | | | | me | |
- 'he was like, it's me', that is, 'he looked like me.'

The following sentence contains only one predicate:

- (7) ko e faiako au 'I am a school teacher.'

The next introduces a past tense element:

- (8) na'e faiako ko au 'there was a school teacher, it is me' or
'I used to be a school teacher.'

Though they may seem overly complicated to an uninformed listener, complex sentences of this sort are more common than their corresponding simple sentences. Both structures, with their different types of predicates, their possibilities and constraints, are complementary. Together they work towards more flexible and precise means of expression.

Another opposition between nominal and verbal predicates will be examined next.

21. INCEPTIVE VS. GENERAL

Here, the distinction between nominal predicates introduced by *ko* on the one hand, and verb + tense marker on the other, - inceptive vs. general - might, in other systems, be expressed by a verbal aspect: as has been seen above (§18), the existence of a process can be predicated with no reference to the time element in Tongan. This explains the use of the construction containing *ko* to indicate an ongoing process: if this process is predicated without any reference to tense,

then the process must be going on now. For example in:

- (1) ko ē 'alu 'ae tangatá
'it is the departure of the man.'

There is an opposition in meaning - inceptive vs. general - between nominal sentences with ko and corresponding ones with verb and tense, as in:

- (2) 'oku 'alu 'ae tangatá
'the man goes'

in general; vs.

- (3) ko ē 'alu 'ae tangatá
'the man is going now'

Note that the 'a-marked modifying NP is the same for the two types of predicates.

Next I shall examine Tongan nouns and how they stand with regard to voice.

21.1. NOUNS AND VOICE

As we pointed out at the start of this paper, in Tongan the same lexical morpheme can be made into a noun or a verb according to its function-markers. Therefore, questions of voice may apply to nouns as well as verbs.

Tongan has two different morphemes that express two types of possession, agentive and patient-like. The expression of these two types of possession is always distinct and separate, with possessive markers that correspond to *my*, *your*, *his* etc.... it is less constantly distinct in nominal determination of a so-called genitival type. The latter will be examined first.

Possession expressed by a function-marked NP:

- (4) e⁷³ ui 'a e tangatá
 definite noun function marker definite article noun
 article
the call of the man

The general meaning of the above sentence is: *'the call made by the man.'* It is semantically the mirror image of:

- (5) e ui 'o e tangatá. *'the call of the man'*, meaning that he hears or receives it.

Another example:

- (6) fakatau 'ae fefiné *'the woman's shopping'* but
 (7) fakatau 'o e me'akaf *'the shopping for food.'*

Independent sentences may be construed from the NPs above when *ko* is added:

- (8) *ko e ui 'ae tangatá 'it is the call received by the man' or 'the man is being called.'*
- (9) *ko e ui 'oe tangatá 'it is the call received by the man' or 'the man is being called.'*

The English translation makes use of a periphrase or a verb, since in English, only the verb may be voice-oriented with respect to its subject and object. But, in Tongan, a noun's voice-orientation is expressed by the function-marker that introduces the modifying NP: Hence a wide range of uses for nominal possessive constructions. In Tongan, reversal for voice is more systematic for nouns than it is for verbs. This point will be examined below in greater detail.

In the above nominal sentence, *'o* indicates that the action proceeds from the head-noun towards its modifying NP. Therefore it marks an NP as a patient, and can be interpreted as such; symmetrically, its oppositional counterpart, *'a*, as in (4), (6) and (8) above, is then an agent function-marker.⁷⁴ This holds good for any lexical morpheme that can take an agent and a patient, i.e. one that can be turned into an agent-compatible verb. Thus, nominal possession is voice-oriented, it is not open for voice: an *'a*-marked NP after a nominal predicate indicates the agent of the predicate - as opposed to an *'a*-marked NP after a verb (as will be remembered, this can mark either actor or goal of the verb. See §3 above).

Is it then possible to speak of a proper voice-transform for nominal predicates in Tongan? I am inclined to think that the conditions for one are not met completely, for a proper voice transformation would require a reversal of the predicate itself; whereas in this case, as can be seen in the above sentence, the predicate itself *koe ui* for instance, remains unchanged from (6) to (7), or (8) to (9). When an NP participant is added, the difference in the resulting sentence lies in the meaning of the additional noun-phrase itself, either agent, *'a*-marked, or patient, *'o*-marked, and not in the predicate. Consequently, it can be stated that the message is equivalent to one obtained through a voice-transform, even though the grammatical means differ: indeed, the predicate itself does not change. The same holds for the reversal involved in possessive markers, as will be analysed below.

22. POSSESSIVE MARKERS

Two series of possessive markers express the same opposition as a verbal voice-transformation would do, i.e., an agent-type possession is opposed to a patient-type possession. For instance in:

- 'eku, ho'o, 'ene *'my/your/his'* (agent) and
hoku, ho, hono *'my/your/his'* (patient)⁷⁵

For example:

- (1) 'ene ui *'his call'* (the one he is sending out), but
(2) hono ui *'his call'* (the one he receives).

The phrase may be used independently by adding topic-marking, predicate-forming ko as in (3) ko 'ene ui *'it is his call'* = *'he calls'*, and symmetrically,

- (4) ko hono ui *'it is his call'* = *'he is called.'*

Other examples:

- (5) e taki a e tui'i *'the king's leadership'*, and in the same way
(6) 'ene taki *'his leadership'*, but
(7) ē taki 'o e kakai *'the people's being led'*, and
(8) hono taki *'his/her being led.'*

As is the case with an NP introduced by the function-marker 'a vs. 'o (when predicated by topic-marking ko), this construction is widely used in independent sentences.

Two possessive markers may be combined, as long as they belong to two different NPs, for instance in:

- (9) ko 'ene ako hono hiva
 predicate agent predicate his noun
 forming study (patient) song
 'it is his study of his song', that is 'he studies the way in
 which (someone else) sings his song.'

If 'ene replaces hono in the second NP, we get:

- (10) ko 'ene ako 'ene hiva *'he studies his own song.'*

All possessive phrases must include a lexical morpheme:

- (11) *ko hono tā 'ene, lit. *'It is his hitting him'*, i.e. *'he hits him'* is not acceptable.

It follows that in a sentence with two participants, one of the possessive markers must be replaced by a lexical NP. For example,

- (12) ko hono tā 'e Sione *'it is his blow* (patient type of possession) *administered by John'*, i.e. *'John hits him.'*

Or the other way around:

- (13) ko 'ene tā 'a Pita, lit. *'It is his hitting of Peter'*, i.e.
'he hits Peter.'

This system of patient and agent possessive pronoun-markers is generally consistent, whereas 'a vs. 'o + NP is not, as will be examined hereafter.

23. 'a VS. 'o FUNCTION-MARKERS: A LABILE OPPOSITION

'a may also be used as marking general possession with no specific voice orientation. However 'o always expresses a patient possession only. But the indeterminacy of the 'a function-marker may bring about the replacement of the 'a agent vs. 'o patient couple, by 'e agent vs. 'a general, in which pair the 'a marker may have the value of goal as well as that of actor. This shift is probably encouraged by the similarity with verbal constructions: as has been seen above, the 'a marked NP may be either actor or goal of the verb.

Thus, here again, we find the same openness for voice that we had for verbs. But here it is less surprising to a speaker of a so-called Western language, because it appears with a modifying NP, just as in Latin or in French: e.g. Lat. *metus hostium* 'the fear of the enemy' can mean either 'the fear the enemy inspires', or 'that which he feels'.

Here are some examples for nouns, first with 'a marking a general modifying NP:

- (1) e haka a'e 'ufi⁷⁶
the cooking of yams
'the cooking of yams in general.'

Yams belong to that group of morphemes which are not normally agents (Comrie n.d.). Therefore 'ae 'ufi is unambiguous. In the same way, established usage permits both (2) lao 'o e kakai 'the law of the people' (which they submit to), and (3) lao 'ae kakai with a different function-marker, but, in this case the same meaning; because "in Tonga everyone knows that it is not the people who make laws, but the king", as my informant commented.

The next example shows the use of 'e instead of 'a. 'e is an agent-function-marker with no possibility of confusion:

- (4) koe kumi (it is the searching) 'e he fa'e (by the mother)
'the mother is searching.'

The first segment of the next example is a question:⁷⁷

- (5) ko hai (it is who) na'à ne 'ave 'ae iká? (he brought the fish)

- (6) koe 'ave 'e Sione (lit. *'it is John agent bringing'*)
'Who brought the fish? John brought it.'

With all nouns which correspond to agent-compatible verbs, 'a can replace 'o as patient-marker, whereas 'e marks agent only. (See example 4 above.)

However, when the head-noun corresponds to an agent-incompatible verb, replacing 'o by 'a is not always acceptable; for example in:

- (7) na'á ku sio ki he kaume'a 'o Pita *'I saw Peter's friend.'*
 *kaume'a 'a Pita is not acceptable.

Nonetheless, the opposition 'a - 'o remains present in the system, and ready to serve. Whenever 'a and 'o may be used indifferently, with no change in the meaning of the message, the opposition between them takes on a different value: 'a in this sense is more general, and 'o more specific, as in the following example:

- (8) he ongo 'a e tangata *'the feelings of man in general'*, but
 (9) he ongo 'o e tangatá *'the feelings of this man in particular.'*

In this case, then, the opposition 'a vs. 'o is no longer relevant as to voice orientation.

I have just examined the weakness of the opposition 'a- 'o, and the semantic transfers that may result from it. The opposition between the two possessive markers is more regular, and will be studied next.

24. 'ene VS. hono: A CONSISTENT OPPOSITION

Contrary to the distinction between 'a and 'o function-markers, the opposition between various types of possessive markers retains its full impact. Thus, an ambiguous utterance such as,

- (1) ko e kai 'a e iká *'it is the act of eating of the fish'*
 can mean either (2) or (3) as follows:
 (2) ko 'ene kai *'it is its act of eating', i.e., 'it eats', or*
 (3) ko hono kai *'it is its act of being eaten', i.e., 'it is being eaten.'*

Thus in Tongan there are two possessive morphemes, an active possessive, and a passive one.

Below is a list of the possessive markers in all three persons in the singular⁷⁸, as compared to the corresponding pronouns:

FUNCTIONS		FUNCTIONS	
agent	agent-type	patient	patient-type
pronoun+verb	possessive+noun	pronoun+verb	possessive+noun
1) ku 'I'	'oku 'my'	au 'me'	hoku 'my'
2) ke 'you'	ho'o 'your'	koe 'you'	ho 'your'
3) ne 'he'	'ene 'his'	---	hono 'his'

Both types of possessive marker-paradigms are complete, whereas, as has been seen above, (§6) verbal constructions lack a third person patient pronoun. The opposition between 'ene vs. hono obtains consistently even in the third person, thus permitting no ambiguity. This fact alone would be reason enough to broaden the use of the 'ene vs. hono oppositive couple.

It is easy to understand the functional importance of the opposition between agent and patient possessive markers. Both types of markers can be used with nouns that correspond to agent-compatible verbs. Several examples have been provided containing ui 'to call, to be called', kai 'to eat, to be eaten', etc.⁷⁹

However, when a possessive marker modifies a noun corresponding to a verb that cannot take an agent function, noun and verb take on another type of relationship as will be seen next.

25. POSSESSIVE + NOUN: TWO LEXICAL CLASSES

As could be expected, nouns that correspond to agent-incompatible verbs do not accept an 'e-marked agent-function NP, just as their corresponding verbs:

- (1) *'ae lea 'e Mele 'Mary's speech' is impossible.

Also these nouns can take only the 'ene type of possessive pronouns, just as the corresponding verbs can take only the ne type of personal pronouns:

- (2) 'ene lavea 'his being wounded'

corresponds to

- (3) 'oku ne lavea 'he is wounded.'

Here 'ene 'his', does not mean possession of an 'agent-type', any more than ne means agent when it is used with these agent-incompatible verbs. The same is true for 'oku 'my', ho'o 'your', etc.... Thus, for lexical participants to an agent-incompatible verb, agent-markers are not formally acceptable. But for personal pronouns and possessive noun phrases, only agent-markers are acceptable:

- (4) *'oku lea 'e he tangatá 'the man speaks'

but

(5) 'ene lea *'his speech'*

This discrepancy came from the two different constructions involved: with lexical NPs, verbs are ergative-construed, and thus have an agent-incompatible class; but with personal and possessive pronouns, they follow an accusative pattern; there only the agent is formally possible.

In certain cases, however, these nouns can be used with a possessive of the patient-type form, for instance, hoku *'my'*, ho *'your'*, and hono *'his/her'*. In such cases, though, the resulting possessive phrases refer to a concrete noun whose relationship with the verb is quite distant, as in:

(6) hono lavea *'his wound'*

as opposed to 'ene lavea (2) above. Also

(7) hono toe *'ite remainder'*

as opposed to

(8) 'ene toe *'its act of being left over'*, i.e., *'its being left over'*.

In short, those nouns that correspond to transitive verbs show two possible types of possession, agent and patient-like; those that are connected to intransitives, one type of possession only, formally, of the agent-type; but for meaning, it expresses neither agent nor patient; it indicates only that the head-noun applies to the possessor. When the ho patient-type of possession does occur here, it no longer corresponds to the verb-noun transform. In such cases, it is often difficult and even impossible to connect a formally agentive possessive noun-phrase to its formal patient-like opposite number.

25.1. 'CONCRETE' NOUNS AND POSSESSION

All nouns that express a concrete referent are divided into two classes: those nouns that belong to the 'ene (formally agent-type-possession) class, and those of the hono class (formally patient-like). These two classes are distinct and do not overlap. However, sometimes a hint of a semantic distinction between the two classes does seem to appear: referents that are exterior to the possessor or beyond his control seem to belong to the ho class, referents that are conceived of as an intimate part of the possessor, i.e., that can be controlled by him, make up the 'e class. This is where socio-cultural values rather than linguistic data carry the decision as to which class each morpheme belongs to. For example, (9) hono va'e *'his leg'*; (10) hono

vaka 'his boat'; (11) hono fale 'his house'; (12) hono tao 'his harpoon'; (13) hono foha 'his son' (speaking of the father); are all apparently considered as exterior to the possessor. But (14) 'ene tama 'her son' (of the mother); (15) 'ene ita 'his or her anger'⁸⁰; (16) 'ene kā 'his/her car'...

Whenever a noun of the ho class is co-ordinated to one of the 'e class, the possessive class of the whole phrase is that of the closest noun. For instance in: (17) he vaka mo e kā 'a Sione 'John's boat and car', but (18) he ka mo e vaka 'o Sione 'John's car and boat'. I shall examine nominal derivations next, and see how they stand in comparison to suffixed verbs (§13 and 17 above).

26. DERIVED NOUNS AND THE EXPRESSION OF POSSESSION

An -'i suffix added to the head-noun can replace the 'o nominal patient-function marker in a possessive NP. It expresses a more intimate possession of the patient-type, as in:

- (1) va'e' hoosi 'the horse's foot'

as against

- (2) va'e 'oe hoosi⁸¹.

Just as

- (3) 'ulu'i moa, 'ulu 'oe moa 'the chicken's head'

- (4) kava'i kosi 'the goat's beard'

and also

- (5) tangata'i fonua 'the man of the country' i.e. 'the statesman'

The -'i suffix's functional mechanisms are the same with nouns as with verbs: as we know, one-place verbs can take two participants when the 'i suffix is added to them (as has been seen above, its original meaning is perfective aspect, but since it now involves both ends of the verbal operation, in so doing, it makes the verb agent-compatible); in the same way, a noun that corresponds to an agent-incompatible verb can take an 'i suffix also, with much the same result. For example:

- (6) e fa'ele 'a Melé 'Mary's delivery' (she is the one giving birth).

- (7) 'ene fa'ele 'her delivery', is acceptable, but not

- (8) *hono fa'ele.

However, with NP + 'i, the hono patient-type of possession is in order: as in;

- (9) hono fa'ele'i 'its birth (of the baby)'

and in the same way,

- (10) e fa'ele'i 'oe pepe *'the baby's birth'*.

Again:

- (11) 'ene manatu *'his remembering'*

but

- (12) hono manatu'i *'his being remembered'*.

In the two hono sentences above, the 'i suffix is compulsory in order to introduce the object of the remembrance, because they are derived from agent-incompatible verbs and so, are incompatible with formal patient-like possessive markers. More generally, with one place nouns, the hono patient type of possession is formally acceptable only if the head-noun is suffixed with 'i. Thus, for nouns that correspond to agent-incompatible verbs, just as for the verbs themselves, the 'i suffix can bring about an active-passive transform. But this is dependent upon the active meaning of the basic morpheme; it does not have to obtain for all morphemes of the same class, it is not systematic; for instance,

- (13) 'oku lavea 'a Sione *'John is wounded'* and

- (14) 'oe lavea 'a Sione *'it is John's act of being wounded'*
i.e. same meaning as (13).⁸²

But with nouns that correspond to 'e agent-compatible verbs, the 'i suffix is optional, because, with or without it, the head-noun can accept both types of possessives, as in:

- (15) ene tamate *'his killing'* (he is the author of the killing) and

- (16) hono tamate or hono tamate'i *'his act of being killed'* with a patient-type of possession.

Again:

- (17) ko e taki 'a Pita, literally: *'There is driving, implying Peter'* (Peter's role is indefinite), but

- (18) ko e taki'i 'a Pita *'it is Peter's being driven'*

- (19) ko e taki 'o Pita *'it is Peter's being driven'* and

- (20) ko e taki 'e Pita *'it is Peter's driving'* (he is the one driving).

Thus, function-markers for nouns that can take both agent and patient-types of possession are:

NOMINAL POSSESSION

agent	general, unmarked	patient
'e/'a	'a	'i/'o

and for corresponding two-place verbs, function-markers are:

VERBAL PARTICIPANTS

agent	general, unmarked	patient
'e	'a	V-'i 'a

In conclusion, it appears that almost all function-markers which can be used with NP arguments to verbs, can also be used with the corresponding nouns. Henceforth, why distinguish between these two classes since they function so similarly?

27. A REVIEW: THE ROLE OF BOTH NOMINAL AND VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS

27.1. VERBAL TRANSITIVITY AND NOMINAL POSSESSION

Allen (1964) has shown that, generally speaking, transitivity and possession are very close. It seems that, from the point of view of general linguistics, the equation, verb + modifier = noun + possessor, is in inverse proportion to the separation of nouns and verbs into two distinct classes. In other words, the closer verbs are to nouns, both formally and functionally, the less difference there is between transitivity and possession. Consequently, noun phrases, whether modifying verbs or other nouns, tend to have similar markers. Tongan is an extreme case in point. Nonetheless, the fact remains that in Tongan both patterns remain: verbal and nominal predicates are distinct constructions. There must be a functional reason for this; if the two did not have a specific and different role to play in the language, one of them would probably have disappeared, or at least be on the wane. The syntactic advantages of the existence of these two patterns as examined above (§3, 18), may be summed up here: the two may combine; they then form a complex single utterance; one that is made up of two syntactically independent sentences (§20):

- a) On the syntactic level, a pattern
 ko + NP | co-referential pronoun + verb

'Noun is the one ... he Verb', can be used to remove the verb's openness for voice, because of the pronoun's built-in agent function.

b) On the level of the message, (Halliday 1970) the syntactically independent *ko* sentence introduces the topic of the next, also independent, verbal sentence, which then becomes comment. In Tongan, as is often the case elsewhere, topic is extra-syntactic to its comment. (Li and Thompson 1976).

An utterance made of two independent sentences with *ko*

ko + NP | *ko* + NP

makes use of the topic-marking property of the first *ko*, and the syntactic independence towards the time-element of the second. Thus, in both occurrences, the combination of such syntactically independent sentences forms a specific and very precise part of a larger unit, that of discourse.

The analysis of such patterns brings home the dialectics between the two levels, that of pure syntax and the communication level of discourse.

28. A CONCLUSION AND A DIACHRONIC PROSPECTIVE VIEW

To sum up, I hope that the informal method used here has allowed me first to show the conflicting influences at work in Tongan - as described here - today, for verbal and nominal constructions. Secondly, I hope to have shown also how these various sentence-types link up, complementary as they are in the over-all system of the language.

May I now be allowed to follow up those synchronic facts with a prospective diachronic hypothesis: these very conflicting influences all relate to the question of voice in Tongan, whether for verbs or for noun-phrases; and it is likely that this is where the system will change in the future. In the present state of the language, as has been seen above, (§3, §6, §18) preferential utterance-types use complex sentences which introduce a specific agent or patient pronoun. These sentences use a topic-comment pattern with, in the comment, a pronoun that is coreferential to topic (§3); such sentences thus avoid voice-openness as it obtains in basic sentences.

On the other hand, we know that the agent is implied - whether expressed or not - in a verb in the perfective aspect. This fact brings such a construction closer to an accusative construction. Also as has been seen, there are cases where the *-i* aspect already brings about a voice-transform (§16). These synchronic facts are present in the language today, and they may be the germ of a diachronic change in the future, most likely towards something like an accusative system, possibly *'i* as a proper voice-marker, when it has become totally systematised.

Thus today's conflicts may bring about tomorrow's new state of the language.

29. CORPUS

Tevita Holo told me the first two following legends. Paul Bloomfield, Siosiane's husband, sent me the third. All three have been transcribed exactly as they were given to me. The reader will note some irregular features. For instance, the same morpheme can appear with or without a glottal stop; also, definite accents are not always marked. It was not up to me to 'correct' these spellings which, by the way, are interesting in themselves.

The translations also come from my informants; but I have had too little time to go into verbatim translations except for the first few lines. In these lines, some terms will be found noted as 'emphatic' or 'affectionate', with no specific meaning added. They indicate that the text belongs to an affectionate or emphatic register of the language. Besides, other morphemes belong to the King's special vocabulary. These are noted 'royal'.

29.1. Koe Talanoa 'Oe Kavá Moe Toó⁸³

'The story of Kava and the Sugar Cane'

1. Na'e pēhé na'e 'i ai ha ongo matu'a ko Fevanga
 past thus past copula indefinite two parents topic Fevanga
 mo Fefafa. Na'á na nofo 'i he ki'i motu ko 'Eueiki
 and Fefafa. past both stay in the small island topic Eueiki
 ofi ki he motu ko Tongatapu 'i he 'Otu
 close towards the island topic Tongatapu in the Archipelago
 motu Tongá
 island Tonga

'There were two parents, their names were Fevanga and Fefafa. They lived in Eueiki Island close to the Tongatapu island in the Tonga Islands.'

2. Na'e 'i ai ha ki'i ta'ahine 'ae ongo matu'a ni.
 past copula indefinite little girl the two parents these
 ko Kava tokua hono hingoá.
 topic Kava it seems her name.

'This couple had a little daughter, her name Kava.'

3. Me'a pango ne⁸⁴ si'i puke 'a Kava he kiliá
 thing regrettable past affectionate sick Kava with leprosy
 pea ne si'i nofo pe 'i fale.
 and past affectionate stay only at home

'It was a pity that Kava was ill with leprosy and had to stay at home.'

4. Ko e 'ofa 'ae ongo matu'á 'ia Kavá, na'e
 topic the love of two parents towards Kava past
 'ikai 'i ai hano tatau pea ko si'ena mo'ui
 negation copula their comparable and topic affection life
 pe ia, ke tauhi mo tokanga 'i he 'ena
 insistence taking care of and care towards the their
 ki'i ta'ahiné.
 little girl

'The parent's love towards Kava was incomparable and their whole life was spent in taking care of the little girl.'

5. 'I he ta'u 'e taha na'e ha'ele 'ae Tu'i Tonga
 in the year 1 past to go (royal) the king (of) Tonga
 'oe ta'imi ko ia, 'o siu 'i moana.
 of the time topic thus and fishing in sea
 'One year the King of Tonga of the time went deep sea fishing.'

6. Hili 'ae siú kuo 'osi 'ae me'a taumafá.
 finished the fishing perfect finished the thing eat
 pea ne ne halofia 'o pēhé foki mo 'ene
 thus past he be hungry (royal) and so also and his
 kau tangatá.
 plural (for people) man
 'After deep sea fishing, he was without food as well as his men of course.'

7. Kuo liuaki mai 'ae ha'ele 'o ofi ki
 perfect come back (royal) back the departure and close towards
 Eueiki pea to folofola 'ai 'ae Tu'í ke nau tu'uta 'o
 Eueiki so speak (royal) the king that they touch land and
 kumi me'a taumafa.
 find thing food (royal) to eat
 'The king came back close towards Eueiki island and said to his men that they must land there to find food.'

8. Ne fu'u halofia 'aupito 'ae Tu'í pea 'i he
 past suddenly hungry very the King and then in the
 'enau tu'uta, ne kapa tokua ia he fu'u kape ofi
 of them landing past lean they say he the plant kape near
 pe he mātātāhí kae 'alu 'ene kau tangatá 'o kumi
 just the beach while go his plural man and search for
 me'a taumafa.
 food (royal)

'But the king was really hungry and where they had landed, he leaned on a kape⁸⁵ plant, close to the beach, and his men went for some food.'

9. Ne fetaulaki ai 'ae kau tangata ni mo e ongo
 past meet there the two people this and the two
 matu'a 'o e motu, 'o nau fakaha ai 'ae 'uhinga
 parents of the island and they explained there the reason
 'o 'enau 'i he motu ni.
 of them in the island this

'The men met the two inhabitants of the island, and told them why they were on the island.'

10. Ne mo'utafu'na 'ae ongo matu'a pe ko e
 past be at a loss the two parents to know topic the
 ha si'a na me'a 'e
 indefinite indefinite (affectionate) both go (honorific) future
 ma'u ke 'alu moe kau
 find in order to to search in the sea with one's foot people
 tangata ni, he ko e ongo matu'a masiva
 man this the fact that topic the two parents poor
 kinaua.⁸⁶

'They were both embarrassed as to what they could give the men to take with them, for they were very poor.'

11. Na'e pēhé tokua na'e fakavave mai 'a Fevanga 'o
 past think they say past quickly here Fevanga and
 'alu ke 'omai 'ae fu'u kape ne tu'u 'i he
 go search for the plant kape past to be located on the
 māātāhi.
 beach

'They say that Fevanga went quickly to get the kape plant which was on the beach.'

12. Me'a pango ne si'i ma'a Fevanga ke ala
 thing regrettable past affectionate be shy Fevanga to touch
 ki he fu'u kapé he kuo lolotonga kapa ai
 towards the plant kape because perf. continue lean there
 'ae Tui ia.
 the King insistence

'It was a pity Fevanga did not dare to touch the kape plant which was on the beach.'

13. Kuo faka 'eni 'e Fevanga kia Fefafa 'ae
 perfect tell this (emphatic) agent Fevanga to Fefafa the
 me'a kuo hokó. pea mu'o tafu'ua ai pe hona
 thing perfect happen and then be at a loss there exactly their
 lotó.
 heart

'Fevanga told Fefafa what had happened, and they were embarrassed in their hearts.'

14. Na'à na fakakaukau leva ke tamate'i
 past both think at once (emphatic) kill
 ā 'ena pele, 'a si'i Kavá.
 emphatic and polite their especially beloved little Kava

'When they thought they would kill their only possession, little Kava.'

15. Lolotonga 'ena ta'o 'o si'i Kavá kuo faka tonga'i
 during their cooking of little Kava perfect notice
 'e he kau tangatá 'ena me'a kuo faí 'o
 agent the plural people man their thing perfect done and

nau 'alu fakavave 'o fakatau folofola ki he Tu'í.
they go quickly and to tell to the King
'While they were cooking Kava the (King's) men noticed what they were
doing and went to tell the King.'

16. Ne hounga ki he Tu'i Tongá 'ae 'ofa 'ae ongo
 past satisfied to the King (of) Tonga the love of two
 matu'a ni mo 'ena fiefai fatongiá pea ne
 parents this and their desire fulfill duty and after past
 to folofola ai ke hoko ā 'ae 'umú ko e fa'itoka ia
 speak (royal) become emphatic the 'umu topic the tomb
 'o si'i Kavá.
 of little Kava

'The King of Tonga was satisfied, he understood the two islanders'
love and their desire. He spoke and told them that the 'umu (a covered
oven made into the ground) would be Kava's tomb.'

17. Ne liuaki atu leva 'ae ha'ele
 past come back (royal) from there immediately the departure
 ia ki Tongatapu. kae si'i mamahi loto pe 'ae
 toward Tongatapu. but affectionate sad heart the
 ongo Matu'a. he neongo kuo lava lelei hona
 two parents in the fact although perfect succeed well their
 fatongiá. ka kuo mola 'ena pēlé.
 duty however perfect empty their especially beloved

'The King returned towards Tongatapu, but the two parents were very
sad, because, although they had fulfilled their duty, they had lost
their only possession.'

18. Na'e pēhé na'e tauhi 'e he ongo matu'á 'ae
 past thus past took care agent the two parents the
 faitoka 'o Kavá. 'o hange pe kuo si'i
 tomb of Kava. of similarity as if exactly perfect affectionate
 kie mo'ui hona 'ofefiné.
 live their daughter

'They say the two parents took care of the tomb as if Kava were still
alive.'

19. Na'a na tauhi 'o ma'ala'ala 'aupito 'ae ki'i
 past both took care and to weed a lot the little
 mala'e ni. pea na tou 'a'ahi ki ai
 tomb (honorific) this and then both took care visit there
 he 'aho kotoa pe.
 the day each

'They kept it very neat and visited it everyday.'

20. Na'e 'i ai 'ae 'aho 'e taha, 'i he 'a'ahi mai 'ae
 past copula the day one the visit here the
 ongo matu'a ki he mala'é; na'á na fakatonga'i
 two parents at the tomb (honorific) past both notice
 kuo tupu ha ki'i fu'u kava mo e ki'i fu'u
 perfect grow one little sprout kava and the little sprout

to 'i he faitoká.
sugar cane in the tomb

'One day, while they were visiting the tomb, they noticed a Kava and a sugar-cane plant on the tomb.'

21. Na'e hāngé hā há 'ae fiefia 'ae ongo
past resemble=marvelous one what the joy of two

matu'a ni 'i he ongo ki'i fu'u 'akau ni. 'o
parents this in the two little sprout plant this and

hāngé tofu pe na'e fakatupu 'e Kavá.
resemble like exactly past grow agent Kava

'Their joy was incomparable, and they were very happy of those two plants, as if Kava had grown them.'

22. Na'e tupu faka'ofa'ofa 'ae ongo fu'u 'akau ni. pea
past grow blooming the two sprout plant this and

fifili 'ae ongo matu'a ni pe ko e ha koa
wonder the two parents this exactly topic the what question

hano aongá.
their use

'The two plants were blooming and the couple were wondering what they would do with it.'

23. Na'e 'i ai 'eni 'ae 'aho 'e 'taha na'e ōmai 'ae
past copula emphatic this the day one past the

ongo matu'a 'ona sio ki he ki'i kumá. kuo
two parents their see towards the little rat perfect

lolotonga 'olo'ola he fu'u kavá.
continue nibble the sprout kava

'And one day as they came to the tomb, they saw a little rat nibbling at the kava.'

24. Ne pupu tu'u 'ena fakakaukau, 'ona tu'u faka
past together remain their think their remain

longo longo pe.
silent just

'They were abashed and did not move.'

25. Ne faifai 'ae ngali 'ae ki'i kumá. pea 'ohovale
continue the nibble of little rat. and be surprised

'ae ongo matu'a, 'i he sipa takai 'ae ki'i
the two parents in the staggering in circles of little

kumá 'i he funga fa'itoká.
rat on the top tomb

'As the rat went on nibbling, the two parents were surprised to see it come and go on the tomb in a drunken way.'

26. Ne sipa tokoua 'ae ki'i kuma 'o tau he
past stagger they say the little rat and reach to

fu'u tōó. 'one ki'i 'ola mei he tefitō.
plant of sugar cane little nibble from the stalk

'As he staggered about, it started nibbling the stalk of the sugar cane.'

27. Tuai kemo 'ene 'alu hangatonu 'o hola atu leva
suddenly his go straight and rush from there quickly
ki he vaō.
towards the bush

'Suddenly the rat started walking normally towards the bush.'

28. Na'e hoko 'ae me'a ni ke 'ilo ai 'e Fevanga
past happen the thing that which find there agent Fevanga
mo Fefafa, e kavá, 'e fakatupu kōná, pea e
and Fefafa, the kava, future produces drunkenness and the
tōó, te ne fakalele'i 'ae koná mei he kavá.
sugar cane future it acts against the drunkenness the kava

'This happened and Fevanga and Fefafa knew that Kava made one drunk and sugar cane had a sobering effect.'

29. 'I he ta'u 'e taha, na'e folau atu 'ae eiki
in the year 1 past sail toward the the chief
lahi ko lo'au, mei Tongatapu ko 'ene me'a
great top. Lo'au starting from Tongatapu topic his go (royal)
ki 'Eua, 'o 'afe tokua 'i Eueiki.
toward 'Eua and then they say to Eueiki

'One year, a great chief went from Tongatapu to Eua, and he landed in Eua.'

Na'e pēhé koá koe me'a 'a Lo'au, koe folau ki he hopo'anga
'oe la'á.

'It was believed that lo'au was going towards the sun.'

Na'e ofo 'ae ongo matu'á 'i he tu'uta 'a Lo'au, pea na
taa'i mai leva 'ae fu'u kavá moe fu'u toó ko ha ha'unga 'o
Lo'au.

'The two islanders were surprised to see Lo'au land and they cut the kava and the sugar cane to give it to him.'

Na'ana talaange kia Lo'au 'ae ha'ele ange 'ae Tu'i Tongá pea
moe sii mate'anga 'o Kavá kae hounga ki he Tu'i si'ena
masivá 'o tofolofola ai 'ae Tu'i ke tanu ai ā 'a Kava.

'They spoke to Lo'au of the King's visit, of the reason for Kava's death, they said the King has understood how poor they were, and how he had told them to use the 'umu as a tomb for Kava.'

Na'ana talaange foki 'ae ongo fu'u 'akauni pe pea moe to'onga
'ae ki'i kumá 'i he 'ene 'ola 'ae tefito 'oe kavá moe toó.
'They also spoke of the rat's reactions after nibbling at the Kava and sugar cane stalks.'

Na'e malie'iai 'aupito 'a Lo'au 'i he talanoá pea ne fekau
'ae ongo matu'á kena ō leva 'o 'ave 'ae ha'ungá he koe
me'a ia 'ae Tu'i.

'Lo'au was fascinated with the story and told the couple to take their offering because it belonged to the King.'

Na'ane talaange ki he ongo matu'a kena ō pea na fakatau
folofola ki he Tu'i 'o pēhé:

'He told them to tell this to the King.'

koe kava koe tama 'a Fevanga mo Fefafa

'Kava is the child of Fevanga and Fefafa.'

Fahifahi pea mama

'cut and nibbled'

ha tano'a mono anga

'in a bucket with water'

ha pulu mono tata

coconut bark to clean it'

ha pelu ke tauanga

'a scraper to bring the juice'

ha eiki ke olovaha

'to the Chief who will be sitting in the seat of honor'

fai'anga e fakataumafa.

'in the process of drinking (royal).'

Ne folau atu'a Lo'au ia kae 'a'alo mai 'ae ongo matu'á ki
Tongatapu 'o a'u ki he Tu'i Tongá moe ha'ungá.

*'And Lo'au sailed further while the two parents plied their oars
towards Tonga in order to reach Tonga with their offering.'*

Hili 'ena fakatau folofolá moe fakaha 'oe ha'ungá ne hoi
fua 'ae Tu'i kia Fevanga mo Fefafa pea ne ōfo he poto 'o
Lo'au.

*'After they talked to the King and showed him their offering, the King
was satisfied with Fevanga and Fefafa and surprised with Lo'au's intel-
ligence.'*

Na'e pēhé na'e tu'utu'uni leva 'ehe Tu'i ki hono pule 'anga
ke hoko 'ae kavá koe me'a faka'e'i'eiki 'i he ngaahi fakataha
anga lalahi kotoa pē pea koe toō koe fono ma'o lunga taha
ia 'oe kavá, ke fakamanatu 'ae 'ofa moe fiefaifatongia 'a
Fevanga mo Fefafá.

*'They say the King ordered that in his kingdom kava would be a festive
drink at all solemn gatherings, and sugar cane was the best food to go
with kava, in memory of the love and duty fulfilled by Fevanga and
Fefafa.'*

Ne toe to folofola foki 'ae Tu'i 'o pēhé 'e ui 'ae taumafa kava'anga kotoa pe koe Lo'au ke fakamanatu ki he eiki poto mo to'a ko eni kuo folau atu ki hopo 'anga 'oe la'á.

'And the King also ordered that the act of drinking Kava should be named Lo'au in memory of the wily and courageous Chief who sails towards the East.'

Ne toe tō folofola foki 'ae Tu'i ke fakakoloa 'a Fevanga mo Fefafa.

'The King ordered to have Fevanga and Fefafa given all sorts of good things.'

Ne si'i foki fiefia 'ae ongo matu'á ki Eueiki kae hoko 'ae kavá moe toó ko ha me'a faka'eieiki 'o a'u mai ki he ono pooni.

'They went back happily to Eueiki and kava and sugar cane became important staples and still are.'

29.2. Ko Hina Mo Sinilau Moe 'Atú⁸⁷

'Hina, Sinilau and the 'atu (small tuna: a kind of fish)'

Na'e pēhé tokua 'i he kuonga fuoloa atú, na'e 'iai ha eiki to'a mo talavou foki, mei he 'Otu Motu Ha'apai, 'i Tonga. Na'ane mohu faiva 'aupito, pea koe folau tahí, koe taha ia ha me'a na'ane manako ai. Na'e taimi lahi 'ene toutou folau ki Ha'amoá 'o fakafetongi koloa moe ngaahi 'eiki 'oe Otu Motu ko iá.

'It was told (that) in the olden days on, there was a handsome and brave chief from the Ha'apai island in Tonga. He was sporty, and sailing was one of his favorite activities. There were many times when he sailed to Samoa to exchange goods with the Samoan chiefs.'

Na'e 'iai koá ha ta'ahine talavou ko Hina, koe 'ofefine ha 'eiki lahi he 'Otu Motu Ha'amoá. Na'e faifai 'ae folau 'a Sinilau ki Ha'amoá pea na'ana fe'ofa'aki mo Hina, koe 'ofa na'e 'ikai 'iai hano tatau. Na'ana fetaki nima he māātātahí 'o sio ki he táolunga 'ae peaú pea 'i he hopo 'ae mahiná na'e hangé na'ane malimali mai ki ha 'ofa na'e fisikitu'á. *'There was a beautiful girl too. Her name was Hina, a daughter of a high ranking chief. Sinilau's continuous sailing contact with Samoa led to his falling in love with Hina, a love that was beyond compare. They held hands on the beach and looked out to the dancing waves and when the moon rose, it was as if the moon smiled at a love that bloomed out of a flower-bud.'*

Me'a pango na'e 'ikai ke fuoloa 'ae ta'otunga 'ai peaú pea moe malimali 'ae mahiná, he kuo kamata ke fakalotokoui 'ae kau Ha'amoá. Na'e 'ongo'i 'e Sinilau 'ae kamata ke vakoui 'a ia moe kaingá, pea neongo 'ae tangi hono loto 'ene 'ofa kia Hiná, ka 'i he 'ene ongo'i hono vaha'o tangatá, na'ane pēhé 'e fakapotopoto ke tuku folau mai ā ki hono motú.

'It was a pitiful affair that the dancing of the waves and the smile of the moon, did not last long before jealousy started among the Samoans. Sinilau felt the beginning of a bad relationship with his friends and although his heart was crying out the love for Hina, his feeling for his manly relationship led him to conclude that it was wise to set sail for his island.'

Na'e pēhé neongo 'ae mavahe mai 'a Sinilau mo'ene kau tangatá, ka na'e si'i tu'u pe 'ae fu'u to'ani 'i taumuli 'o sio ki Ha'amoá, 'o fakaanaua "'E Hina ē, keke 'ilo mai hoko lotó.'" Kuo fakatotenga'i 'e Hina 'ae pulia 'a Sinilau pea mamahi mo'oni hono loto he kuo ne si'i 'ilopau 'ae 'uhingá. Me'a pango na'e 'ikai ma'u 'e si'i Hiná ha vaka pe popau ke tuli mai ki siono 'ofa'angá.

'It was told that in spite of his own and his men's departure, Sinilau sorrowfully stood at the bow, looking towards Samoa and dreaming "O Hina, wishing you knew my heart". Hina noticed the disappearance of Sinilau and was truly sad in her heart because she knew for sure of the reason. Pity Hina could not have a boat or a canoe to chase after her suitor.'

Na'e 'iai koá 'ae ki'i ika 'a Hina na'ane fakahingoo koe 'Atú, pea na'e tauhi pe 'e Hina he māātāhi. Na'e fakavave mai 'a Hina 'i he 'osi to 'ae la'á 'o faka'anaua kia Sinilau 'i he matātāhi. Hau tokua na'e lea ange 'ae Atú kia Hina, pe koe ha si'i me'a 'oku mamahi ai; pea fakaha 'e Hina 'ae folau hono 'ofa'angá.

'Hina did have a small fish she named the 'Atu. And she kept it near the beach. At sundown Hina hurried to the beach to dream of Sinilau. It was told that the 'Atu asked Hina what had caused her sorrows, and Hina replied her sweetheart had sailed away.'

Na'e tafe noa pe 'ae lo'i mata 'oe Hiná he kuo ne 'ilo pau 'e 'ikai pe toe sio ia Sinilau. Faifai pea fakakaukau leva 'a Hina ke kakau ā 'o muimui si'ona 'ofa'angá.

'The tears flowed for she knew for sure that it would not be possible to see Sinilau again. Eventually Hina thought of swimming so as to follow her sweetheart.'

Na'e si'i hopo atu 'a Hina ki tahi 'o kakau pea na'e hangé hono sinó ha 'ofa he moana vavalé. Ko si'i 'ene ki'i ika, 'ae 'Atú na'ane muimui pe ia 'iai Hina, he kuo pau na'ane si'i 'ilo'i 'ae ofá koe m'ea kuo hulu'anoa he sino fakamatelie.

'Hina went down to the sea and swam. Her body was like a love on the wide ocean deep and blue. Her little fish, the 'Atu, followed Hina, he must have known that love is something that glowed beyond the earthly body.'

Me'a pango koe sinó kuo pau ke talangofua ki he 'auhé ka koe laumalie 'o Hiná na'e 'osi a'u pe ia kia Sinilau. Kuo melemo 'a Si'i Hina pea liliu tokua ia koe toke 'o mole atu pe mo 'ene 'Atú 'o muimui pe he vaka 'o Sinilaú.

'It was a pity that the body must obey physical destruction, yet the spirit of Hina had reached Sinilau. Poor Hina drowned and it was told that she was changed into an eel and glided along with her 'atu to follow Sinilau's boat.'

Koe pongipongi 'e taha na'e tofu 'ae tahí pea angi noa 'ae matangí pea kuo ha'u ai pe 'a Sinilau 'o tu'u 'i taumulí 'o faka'anauá; taumaia keke ma'anuhake Hina keta potalanoa. Faka fokifa pe kuo ma'anuhake 'ae fu'u toké, pea neongo koe 'ika pe, ka na'e sio 'a Sinilau 'o tau 'ene fakakaukau mo'ene faka'anauá, kia Hina he kuo ne 'ilo pau, kuo melemo hono 'ofa'angá. Na'e toe 'ohovale foki 'a Sinilau 'i he 'ene sio ki he 'Atú, 'o tafenaa'ia pe hono lo'i mata 'i he mamahi kuo mole 'ae sino 'o Hiná, ka na'e fakatupu fiefia 'i loto he 'ene 'ilo 'ae 'efa mo'oni 'a Hiná, kuo 'ikai toe hiliaki. Na'e tu'utu'uni leva 'e Sinilau ki he 'ene kau tangatá ke 'omai 'ae kekala moe koloa faka'ofa'ofa taha pe 'oe vaká 'o fakakahoa 'aki 'ae toké, he ko Hina ia. Na'e 'alu atu leva 'a Sinilau ki loto vaka 'o tangihia 'ae sino 'o Hiná kuo molé.

'There was one morning, the sea was calm and no wind blowing, Sinilau as usual came and stood at the bow to dream; if only you rose from the sea, Hina, just to talk with me. Suddenly the eel rose and although it was only a fish, but Sinilau saw and related this to his thoughts and dreams of Hina. He knew for sure his sweetheart had drowned. Also Sinilau was surprised to see the 'Atu. His tears flowed without stopping in sorrow for the loss of the body of Hina. But somehow there was happiness in his heart knowing the true love of Hina, which was not devious. Sinilau ordered immediately his men to bring the flowers (leis) and most beautiful possessions off the boat to put around the eel, for it was Hina. Sinilau immediately went inside the boat and cried for the body of Hina which was lost.'

Na'e pēhé ne tofu tu'u 'ae tahí hili 'ae fekite kina 'ae toké mo Sinilaú, pea kuo 'osi 'ae me'a 'iló 'i he vaká. Na'e kamata ke ilifia pea fiekaia foki 'ae kau kauvaká ka ko Sinilau ia ne 'ikai toe mahu'inga 'ae me'a 'o mamani 'i he 'ene 'ofa kia Hina, he na'e hangé koe tafe 'a nauá hono lo'i mata 'ihe manatu ki hono 'ofa'angá.

'It was told the sea was calm after the meeting of the eel and Sinilau and the food ran out in the boat. The crew were afraid and hungry also, but Sinilau was not bothered with earthly things, because of his love for Hina and it was as if his tears were flowing whirlpool (a roaring part of the sea) his tears in the memory of his sweetheart.'

Na'e hoko 'o pēhé tokua na'e toe tu'u 'a Sinilaú 'i taumuli 'o faka anau kia Hina, pea toe ma'anu hake 'ae Toké moe Atú; ka 'i he sio fakamama'u 'a Sinilaú, na'e 'ikai koe 'Atú pe 'e taha, ka na'e 'ikai fa'a laua 'ae nganga 'ae 'Atú. Na'e toe ake 'ae mamahi 'a Sinilaú, 'o fakavave ia ki loto vaká, kae ilo'i 'e he kau vaká, hono lotó, 'o nau toe kumi 'ae kakala mo koloa na'e toe 'i he vaká, 'o fakahua 'aki 'a Hina, 'ae Toké. Na'e faka'oho vale ki he kauvahá 'ae malui 'ae Toké 'o taki 'ae 'Atu, ke ofi ki he ve'e vaká. Fakafokifa pe kuo puna ha ngaahi fo'i 'Atú 'e ni'ihiki he funga vaká, pea mo'u taufu'ua 'ae kau kauvaká 'o nau fakavave ke fakaha kia Sinilau. Na'e hangé na'e fekitengaki pe 'a Hina mo Sinilau, he tu'utu'uni 'a Sinilau ki he 'ene kau kauvaká ke ngaahi 'ae 'Atu he fungavaká, ko 'ene me'a ilo, pea ke ohu hake ha 'Atu mei he tahí, kenau ma'u me'atokoni mei ai. Na'a nau fiefia kotoa pe, he toe ma'u ha me'a ke nau ma'u mo'ui mei ai, kae hulu ange 'ae fiefia 'a Sinilau he'ene 'ilo ta 'e 'ikai tena toe mavae mo Hina, neongo 'e 'auha hono sinó.

'It happened that while Sinilau was at the bow standing dreaming of Hina, the eel and 'Atu rose. When Sinilau looked closely, it was not one 'Atu but so many that he couldn't count. Sinilau's sadness again began to come back and he hurried inside the boat, but the crew knew his heart and they again looked for flowers and goods remaining on the boat to put around Hina, the eel. It was a surprise to the crew to see the eel turning and leading the 'atu close by to the side of the boat. Suddenly some 'atu jumped to on the boat; the crew didn't know what to think, and they hurried to tell Sinilau. It was if Hina and Sinilau understood each other, Sinilau ordered the crew to prepare the 'atu on the boat, for his food (for the chief) and to catch (with bucket) the 'atu from the sea, so they could eat them. They were all pleased to have something to be able to live on, but Sinilau's happiness was deeper, for he knew that they would not be separated, in spite of the destruction of her body.'

Na'e pēhé ne toe foki 'ae matangi 'o angi lelei, pea toe mafola atu honau laā 'o nau tau fonua. 'I he 'enau tu'uta, na'e tu'utu'uni 'e Sinilau, kapau'etoe 'asi 'ae Toké mo e 'atú pea tala fakavave kiate ia ke 'alu ia ki fale 'o tengihia 'ae si'i mole 'a Hiná, ka kuo pau ke 'a'alo ha mata pule moha kakala 'o faka fetaulaki 'a ki 'ae Toké, mone faka kahoa 'aki. Pea kapau 'e taki 'e he Toké 'ae 'atú ki he matā tahi, koe 'atú 'e puna ui 'utá koe me'a 'ilo ia 'a Sinilau, pea koe kakai kotoa pe 'oe motu 'e Pau ke nau puke pe ohu 'ae 'atú 'o 'ikai ke fakatupu ha lavea 'ae 'tu 'oku toé.

'It was told that the wind returned to blow beautifully, and the sail swelled and they reached land. When they got into land, Sinilau ordered that if the eel appears and the 'Atu, they must tell him immediately so that he can go inside the house to cry for the loss of Hina. But some messenger must row with flowers in his right hand to meet with the eel. And if the eel leads the 'atu to the beach, the 'atu that jumped to the land, that is food for Sinilau; all the people of the island must catch with a bucket the 'atu without hurting the remaining atu.'

'Oku pēhe 'oku a'u mai hi he ono pooni 'ae mahu'inga 'ae fe'ofa'aki 'a a Sinilau mo Hina he 'oku mei hoko he ta'u kotoa pe 'ae to 'ae 'Atú 'i he ki'i motu ko Ha'ane 'i he 'Otu Motu Ha'apai 'i Tonga, pea ko hono touta'i 'oe 'Atú 'oku pau ke muimui ki he tu'utu'uni 'a Sinilau 'i he kuonga mu'á. 'Oku pēhe 'i he ngaahi 'ahoni kuo pau ke tatapuni'i 'ae eiki 'o Ha'anó 'i fale pea toki taki mai 'ehe fu'u Toké 'ae 'Atú ke ofi ki he matātahi. 'Oku toe 'iai 'ae talatupu'a 'e taha koe me'a faka'ilonga kovi ka ma'u 'e ha taha ha toke lolotunga ha'ane taumata'u; pea 'e toe mole tokua 'ha kovi 'oku teuaki mai 'okapau 'e tukuange mu'ui 'ae toka koia.

'It is told that the love between Sinilau and Hina has lasted up to the present time, because it happened yearly the 'atu came to the small island called Ha'ane in the Ha'apai group in Tonga and the catching of the 'Atu must be according to the regulations of Sinilau in the olden days. It is told in the present days the chief of Ha'anó must be closed in a house before the eel lead the 'atu to be close to the beach. There is also a myth that it is a bad sign for someone to catch an eel with a fishing rod, and this bad thing that is about to happen can disappear if the eel is released.

29.3. Koe talatupu'a ki he tupu'anga 'oe niu

'The legend concerning the origin of the coconut'

'Oku lau tokua 'ihe kuonga mu'á, na'e 'i ai ha ta'ahine laulotaha mo fisifisimu'a hono faka'ofa'ofá, ko hono hingoā ko Hina. 'Oku pehé na'e 'i ai hono vai kaukau'anga pea koe efiafi kotoape na'e fononga mai pe 'ae ta'ahine ni'o kaukau 'i he vai mokomoko mo melie ko'ení. *'According to a Tongan legend, once upon a time there was a beautiful and very high-ranking girl whose name was Hina. It is thought that she had a fresh water pond and went to it to take her daily bathe. She went there late in the afternoon when it was neither warm nor cold.*

'I he vai ko'ení tokua, na'e nofo ai ha tuna. 'Oku pehe na'e 'alu a Hina moe fau kaukau pea 'i he hili ma'upe 'ene ngaue 'aki 'ae kaukau, na'a ne hili ia 'i he funga maka 'oe tafa'aki vai ke momoa ai 'ihe havilí moe la'á.

'In that pond lived a fresh water eel, Tuna. During Hina's very first visit to the pond, she brought her bath towel which she always used. After bathing, she always placed her towel on the rock by the side of the pond, in order to dry it in the wind and the sun.'

Lolotonga 'ae kaukau 'a Hina 'oku nofo pe 'ae tuna ia 'i he vai, ka 'i he hili pe 'ae mavahe a Hina mei he vai 'o foki ki hono 'api, ne 'alu hake leva 'ae tuna 'o mimisi 'ae fau kaukau 'o matu'u lelei, pea 'ihe 'ene lava ia na'a ne hili lelei 'ae fau kaukau ki he funga maká 'o talitali ai kihe foki mai 'a Hina 'ihe 'aho 'oku hokó.

'While Hina was bathing, the eel watched her, but as soon as she went in, the eel came out of the water, sucked the bath towel until it was quite dry and put it back in the exact place where Hina had left it, ready to serve the following day.'

Ne fai pehé aipe 'ae me'a ni 'o fuoloa. Kaukau'aki 'e Hina 'ae pulu 'o faka'aufuli 'aki hono sino molemole mo faka 'ofa'ofá, mimisi 'e he tuná 'ae pulu kaukau 'o pakupaku mo momoa lelei, pea 'iloange pe kuo feitama 'a Hina. Na'e misiteli kia Hina mo hono famili pe na'e hoko fefe 'ae me'a ni, ko ia ai ne nau fifili pea fekumi pe na'e founa fēfē 'ai hoko 'ae me'a ni. Ne fai ē fakatotolo pea iku ki he vai kaukau 'o tukutaha pe 'ae mahaló ki he tuna 'oku nofo 'i he vai.

'This habit went on for a while. Hina used the towel to clean her whole smooth and magnificent body, the eel sucked the towel carefully and dried it completely, and gradually Hina realised she was pregnant. To Hina and the whole family, what was going on was a great mystery. They wondered how to discover the cause of what had happened. They looked for the reason and all of them suspected the eel that lived in the pond.'

Tokua 'i he efiāfi pe na'e hokó, lolotonga pe 'ae kaukau 'a Hina, kuo 'asi hake 'ae tuna 'o lea mai kia Hina 'one pehe "Hina, fakamolemole'i au he me'a kuo hokó. Talu pe meihe 'uluaki efiāfi na'a ke ha'u ai 'o ngaue'aki hoku vai pea kamata ai 'eku 'ofa 'iate koe, pea neu faka'amu ange na'aku toe liliu koe tangata keta hoko koe fefine moe tangata nofo mali. Kane ongo iá 'oku ou 'ilo pau 'e tamate'i au 'e ho'o tamai pea 'oku ifo pe iā kiate au, ka ko 'eku kole pe 'eni 'e taha, ka 'eke atu pe koeha hao 'inasi mei hoku sino ni pea ke kole 'ae fo'i 'ulu, 'oke 'alu leva 'o tanu hoku 'ulu 'i ho ve'e fale mohe, pea 'e tupu mei ai ha fu'u 'akau, pea koe fu'u 'akau ko ia tene tauhi koe mo 'eta tamasi'i, pea koe me'a kotoa pe teke fie ma'u teke ma'u ia meihe fu'u 'akau ko'eni, teke inu mo kai mei ai, pea teke ngaue 'aki hono lau moe sino ke langa 'aki ha fale kemo nofo ai". Hili pe'eni, pea puli leva 'ae si'i tuna ni, pea 'ihe 'aho na'e hokó, na'e ha'u leva 'ae famili 'o Hiná 'o 'ave 'ae tuná 'o tamate'i pea na'e 'o ange 'ae fo'i 'ulu 'oe tuna koe 'inasi 'o Hina.

'It is thought that the next afternoon while Hina was bathing, the eel appeared outside of the water and started talking to Hina, it said: "Hina, I beg you, forgive me for what has happened. Ever since I first saw you, that afternoon, using my pond, I fell madly in love with you, and every minute I wish I could become a human being again so that you and I could be husband and wife. I know only too well that your father is going to kill me. In fact, it is a great privilege and honor, it is a sweet death, but I have only one thing to beg of you when the time comes: when they ask you what part of my body will be yours, I beg you to choose my head; when you have it, bury it close to your house where you sleep; in that place a tree will grow and the fruit of that tree will always take care of you and our son. That tree will satisfy all your needs; out of it you will get your food, your drink, the leaves and the trunk will build the roof and the walls of your house respectively". After saying these words, the poor eel disappeared, and the following day, members of Hina's family went to the pond, caught the eel, killed it, and gave its head to Hina.'

Tokua na'e 'alu leva 'a Hina 'o keli ha ki'i luo 'i hono matafalé 'o tanu ai 'ae 'ulu 'oe tuná, pea hili pe ha taimi si'i mei ai ne tupu hake mei ai ha fu'u 'akau.

'Then Hina made a little hole next to the door of her bedroom and there she buried the head of the eel; after a while a tree started growing in that place.'

Ne 'ikai ke fuoloa kuo lahi 'ae fu'u 'akaú pea fua 'o fe'unga pe moe fa'ele'i tamasi'i 'a Hiná. Tokua na'e toli hifo 'ae fuá 'o inu 'e Hina 'o tokoni 'ia kihe fofonu hono huhú, pea mo inu mei ai 'ae pēpē. 'I he lahi hake 'ae tamasi'i ne fakahingoa 'e Hina ko Sinilau. Koe fo'i lea na'a ne 'uluaki lava 'o pua'ki koe niu, pea talu ai 'ae ui 'ae fu'u 'akau ni koe niu, pea koe tahá, koe inu pe ia na'e manako tahá ai 'ae ki'i tamasi'i, pea ko ia ne faka-fehoanaki pe 'ehe tamasi'i ia 'ae inu na'e manako ai mo 'ene uluaki fo'i leá.

'Before long the tree grew large and started bearing fruit, just as Hina was ready to give birth to her child. The legend has it that the first fruit was given to Hina to drink, and helped her to have milk. Hina gave some of that fruit to her baby also. She called the baby Sinilau (coconut) and that is why the tree got that name. Besides, the first drink of the child was coconut milk, so its first sound was associated with its first drink.

Tokua na'e 'i ai 'ae tangata mana'ia ko hono hingoa ko Sinilau na'e tautea 'eha taha 'oe kau taula tevolo 'o ne hoko ai 'o liliu koe tuna. Ne 'ilo pe 'e Hina 'ae me'a ni ko ia ai nene ui pe 'ene tama kihe 'ene tamaí. 'Oku pehe tokua 'i hono to'o 'e Hina 'ae pulú, mei he fo'i niu motu'ú koe mata 'oe fo'i niu 'oku tatau ia moe mata 'oe tuná. 'Oku 'i ai 'ae ngutu moe fo'i mata 'oe ua. Koe ngutu 'oku lava ia 'o fakaava 'o inu mei ai 'ae huhu'á, ka 'oku 'ikai ke lava ke fakaava 'ae ongo mata ia 'o hange koe ngutú.

'It is said there was a handsome, high-ranking man whose name was Sinilau, and the Gods punished him with the result that Sinilau was made into an eel. Apparently, Hina knew this, and consequently named her son after his father, Sinilau. It is believed that when Hina removed the bark of the ripe nut, the impression of the eel's head complete with eyes and mouth, was recognised at one end of the coconut. In fact, at that extremity where it looks like its mouth, it is possible to make an opening to let the coconut milk run out, but in the places which look like eyes, you may try as hard as you can to make a hole, it is impossible to pierce them.'

Tokua na'e to'o 'e Hina 'ae pulu 'oe fo'i niu 'o haehae ia 'o hoko ko 'ene pulu kaukau, pea 'oku a'u ki he 'aho ni koe me'a kaukau lelei taha ia 'oku ngaue 'aki 'e he kakai Tongá. Mei he fu'u niu 'oku ma'u mei ai 'ae, inu, me'a kai, faito'o sino'i fale, 'ato fale, holisi, moe faliki, fefie, maea, lolo maama, koa, patamasilini, taufale tu'a mo fale, kato tu'a niu mo lou'akau tata moe ngaahi me'a kehekehe.

Koe kola fefakatau'aki atu mahu'inga taha ia 'ae fonuá talu mei fuoloa 'o a'u aipe ki onopooni.

Koe veifua kihe fa'ele, aia koe moa tunu moe 'ufi (kahokaho), 'oku

kau ai 'ae niu mata hoka 'osi hono ta'o, koe me'akai foki ia 'oku
fuofua kai 'e he fa'elélé hili 'ae fa'ele'i 'oe valevalé.

*'It is said that Hina took off the bark of the ripe coconut and made it into a pulp and cleaned it; this is the way the bathtowel for herself was invented and also later for her child; in fact, it became the newest bath towel for Tongans until the present time. Coconut tree yields food, drink, medicine, building materials, leaves to cover the roof with, the walls, the floor and the mattress, fire wood, ropes, oil for lamps, soap, margarine; hard and soft brooms, baskets, hats, and many innumerable uses of every other type. The first export from Tonga has always been coprah, coconuts and dried coconut. The food (Veifua - grilled chicken and yams) all Tongan women eat as soon as they have given birth includes a peeled coconut cooked in an 'umu, an oven in the earth.'*⁸⁸

30. ALLOMORPHS

In Tongan, as elsewhere, morphemes may exhibit allomorphs, according to context and to specific formal compatibilities. I shall sum up here only those allomorphs which have appeared in this paper; this will help to clarify their exact uses. A complete chart of Tongan allomorphs can be found in available textbooks (see bibliography). All data outlined in this paragraph concern combinations of morphemes; these combinations are not due to phonological variations. Below is a list of allomorphs which have come up in this paper:

a) Tense markers take on different forms depending on context. The past tense marker is na'e when preceding a verb and na'á when it precedes a pronoun.⁸⁹ ne, is another allomorph of the past tense.

The future tense marker also has two allomorphs: 'e when preceding a verb, and te when preceding a pronoun.

b) The definite article may be e or he. When it follows 'a function-marker,⁹⁰ or topic-marker⁹¹ ko, the definite article is e; 'ae may then be shortened to e.⁹² But when it follows 'e agent function-marker or i/ki⁹³ indicating place or instrument, the definite article becomes he.

c) The specific ordering of morphemes in the string is sometimes compulsory; at other times it is a matter of choice.

In the last case, the ordering of morphemes becomes meaningful; consequently, it will not be examined here as it deals with syntax and has been studied above.⁹⁴ The most important units which exhibit a compulsory position in the sentence are:

d) Personal pronouns. As has been pointed out in this paper, they always bear the same position and grammatical function in the sentence. An agent pronoun must precede the verb and a patient pronoun must

follow it. There is no freedom of choice in the matter. Several examples of this have been provided in this paper: tense + agent pronoun + verb, but never *tense + verb + agent pronoun. The same holds for all agent pronouns in all three persons.⁹⁵

Conversely, a patient pronoun must follow the verb. Hence, the compulsory order is: tense + verb + patient pronoun, but never *tense + patient pronoun + verb.

e) We also have seen that grammatical markers precede their head lexical morpheme, whether verb or nouns: the order is tense + verb, on the one hand, and definite/indefinite/possessive modifiers + noun, on the other.⁹⁶ This position in front of the head-noun obtains also for possessive markers, whether of an agent- or patient-type. Therefore, the order of the two constructions - verb + patient pronoun and patient-type possessive marker + noun - is not parallel but symmetrical.

In conclusion, the agent personal pronoun is the only unit that may come between a tense marker and a verb. In the same way, the three noun-modifiers, definite/indefinite/possessive, are the only units that may be placed between *ko* and its noun. All other types of NPs, including those introduced by various function-markers, are placed after the predicate. Within these NPs the order is the following: function-marker + article or possessive + noun, as in English.

The order of NP modifiers in a verbal-predicate sentence is: tense marker + verb + NPs. In the same way, the order of NP modifiers in a nominal-predicate sentence is:

predicate forming *ko* + predicate + NP modifiers to the predicate.

This order is compulsory: it is not a matter of choice. That is the reason why it has been included in this section.

f) 'i and ki function-markers have three types of allomorphs: they are 'i and ki when preceding an NP made of an article + a common noun (§2 and *passim*) 'iate and kiate when preceding a pronoun (*ibid.*) and 'ia and kia respectively in front of a proper name, as in: 'oku lea 'a Fifita kia Tolu 'Fifita is talking to Tolu'.

NOTES

1. See Biggs 1971, and Pawley 1966. I would like to thank Barry J. Blake for his valuable comments on this paper. However I alone remain responsible for any mistakes in this paper.
2. All official graphic conventions have been followed here whenever quoting Tongan, i.e., apostrophes indicate the phonologically relevant glottal stop. Tense-markers may appear in different forms according to the morpheme that follows. But these forms are allomorphs of the same meaningful unit (see Martinet 1970b). As such, they will be referred to in notes whenever necessary. These will be summed up together again in a paragraph entitled 'Allomorphs' at the end of this study (§30).
3. This means that in Tongan rain V. and rain N. are the same morpheme since they only become verb and noun when preceded by the proper and specific marker. The function-marker's very presence is what makes 'uha a noun in one case e 'uha '*the rain*', a verb in the other na'e 'uha '*it rained*'.
4. See note 5.
5. This is one of the allomorphs of the same morpheme. The function-marker indicating place becomes 'i in front of a NP, and 'iate when preceding a personal pronoun (see allomorphs §30). The same holds for ki, kiate and kia (see §30).
6. See §6 below.
7. However there is no need to posit separate categories of adverbs or adjectives for Tongan itself, as will be seen further in §8. In example (6), mahalo may be syntactically accounted for as a verb without its

tense-marker as is often the case at the start of a sentence inside a discourse sequence. Many examples of this treatment may be found in the corpus, in fine.

8. The functioning of the possessive marker is dealt with further (§22) in great detail.

9. This is an allomorph. See 30.b).

10. Obviously *lesoni* is an English loanword.

11. Indeed, some ergative languages have a zero-mark for the argument of one-place verbs (corresponding to our subject of intransitive verbs). This zero mark should not be interpreted as indicating an accusative construction for intransitive verbs; it must be properly related to the zero-mark of the patient of a transitive verb. Only the comparison between the two constructions is meaningful; the examination of a one-place verb and its argument in itself gives no indication as to its construction-pattern.

12. The very minimal sentence-pattern in Tongan is **tense marker + verb** with no NP modifier. This is used in specific mainly circumstances, e.g., stating a quasi-exclamatory fact in context: '*(he) eats, (he) goes away*', etc.

13. This type of sentence will be analysed further in greater detail, especially when it appears with no agent, but only with verb + 'a-marked argument.

14. In Tongan this openness for voice may be interpreted as a residue, since it obtains only for a number of fundamental verbs; (see §11) but Western scholars must not consider this system as a negligible chance oddity, for the same openness is the norm in many languages, such as, among many other systems, Avar (Tchekhoff 1979d, and forthcoming) a language from the N.E. Caucasus, written Tibetan (Matisoff 1972) a creolised version of Lisu, as it is spoken by Chinese immigrants in and around the hills of northern Thailand, and described by Hope (1974), and Burmese (Okell 1969) etc...etc...

15. The order of the units in a sentence is typologically significant. It will be examined elsewhere for Tongan (Tchekhoff 1981 Tical forthcoming).

16. See immediately above.

17. Our informant, Veiongo Mafi, has pointed out to us that the morpheme, *sio*, has been used in the language ever since the arrival of a large number of speakers of English. The traditional way of expressing English '*to see*', is very complex: '*ilo* '*to catch sight of*'; for a human being, the following are used: *fe'iloaki* '*to meet with and greet mutually*'; *felongoaki* '*see and chat with*'. Hence, the widespread use of the morpheme *sio* '*to see*', can obviously be explained by such multiplicity of terms; *sio* being a more general, succinct, and abstract term. Today, nonetheless, it is a fact that *sio* occupies a place next to '*asi* in the language as its semantic opposite; both belong to the same syntactic paradigm.

18. Of course, animacy vs inanimacy must be elicited separately for each cultural linguistic system. In many cases, referents, especially forces natural, lightning, water etc... can be treated as either, according to context. (See Tchekhoff 1978b for Hittite.)

19. Instrumental and locative are homophonous in Tongan, just as they are in certain Australian languages. (See B. Blake 1977 and 1979). (See Tchekhoff 1978c '*Sical* for a comparative discussion of '*i*'.)

20. In translation, (6) '*the child forgot the lesson*' and (8) '*the child understood the lesson*' have sometimes been called irregular (E.B. Shumway 1971, Lesson No.51). But they are irregular only in translation, because in English they have to be turned around in order to make *tamasi'i* '*the child*', subject of the verb. Whereas in Tongan, they follow the normal intransitive verb pattern.

21. These patterns do not mean to reflect on order of units. But they do correspond to their normal ordering, except that agent, when it appears, comes immediately after the verb. (See §3 above).

22. The expression of tense, although it is a free form, must not be mistaken for a verb in itself: if used alone, it would be meaningless. On the contrary, in rapid speech and when it is understood because of context, it can remain unexpressed (see Corpus for many instances).

23. Note the following example of contextual allomorphs:

'oku	ou	, but	na'à	ku
present tense	pronoun		past tense	pronoun
marker	agent, I		marker	agent, I

See 'Allomorphs' §30 a) and d) for an explanation of the compulsory position of pronouns. *na'a* is the form the past tense marker takes whenever it precedes a pronoun.

24. This includes, of course, any and all foreseeable semantic restrictions: for instance, the reflexive is not used with *kai* 'to eat' or with *ui* 'to call'. Tongan, for 'she is called *Fifita*' uses a different morpheme: *'oku hingoa 'a Fifita*.

25. *ia* being a generally neutral 3rd person anaphoric pronoun may be translated as 'it' but also 'him' according to the NP it stands for.

26. *Pe* is an adverbial morpheme with no syntactic influence on the rest of the utterance; it is equivalent to English 'precisely'.

27. Dual: "a grammatical category of (...) number referring to two items as opposed to (...) singular (one item) or (...) plural (more than two items)." R.R.K. Hartmann and F.C. Stork 1972.

28. The opposition between animate and inanimate is an important parameter of verbal constructions in many language systems (see Comrie n.d., Tchekhoff 1978a) and b)).

29. Tongan national drink.

30. It must be noted, however, that a combination of this type is not absolutely impossible, for instance;

<i>'oku</i>	<i>tepile</i>	<i>'a Sione</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>Mele</i>
present	verb tense	1st mod. NP	conj.	1st mod. NP
	<i>table</i>	<i>John</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>Mary</i>

This sentence has *tepile* 'table', as predicate, and John and Mary as coordinated 1st Mod. NPs. It would seem unlikely to a foreign observer of the language. But, as a matter of fact, it is perfectly acceptable and even frequent, for it to mean, 'John and Mary are at the same table'. Here again, verisimilitude will trigger the meaning of the sentence.

31. *-a* suffixed morphemes can be interpreted as 'non-controlled derivative morphemes', a point well-elaborated by Green 1980, 2.2.4.

32. Sidney H. Ray, 1896, write that "transitive suffixes in Melanesian are the same as passive word endings in Polynesian". For Samoan, Milner noted that *tangi* 'to cry', contrasts with *tangisia* 'the person over which one is crying'. He adds that in Samoan, these suffixes are

more frequent and more important than in Tongan, and that they express differences in aspect.

33. See Churchward 1959.

34. See Churchward 1953, 30.23.

35. See Vogt 1940.

36. See note 31.

37. See §2 above.

38. Saussure's abstract *signifié*. (Saussure 1967)

39. This term "pragmatics", as used here, is a loose adaptation of the original meaning of the word (see, among others, Carnap 1956-58, Bar-Hillel 1958, etc....)

40. Here predicate-forming and not topic-marker, although as has been seen above, *ko* can have both functions.

41. Prof. Bruce Biggs in a private communication.

42. *tā* + an 'a marked participant alone bears a constant semantic specialisation as '*hit (the guitar)*'.

43. The same type of extended meaning occurs in the Greek perfect, *oída*.

44. A simple sentence containing a lexical agent without a first modifier is acceptable for some of my informants, but not for others. (e.g. 'Ofa Takulua see above). For instance,

- a) na'e 'ilo 'e he fa 'e
 past verb agent NP
 to find the mother
 '*the mother found*', or again,
- b) na 'e ta 'e Mele
 past verb agent Np
 to hit Mary
 '*Mary hit.*'

But a preferential type of sentence is:

na'e	ta'i	'e	Mele
past	derived verb	agent	NP
	<i>to hit</i>		

The above sentence-structure is completely different and contains an 'i' aspectual suffix. Juxtaposed sentences of the type, ko + NP + coreferential pronoun + verb, or two successive verbal sentences with explicit or implicit coreferential pronoun can be translated into English by a complex sentence with a relative clause. (Green 1980:9) However, there are no distinct relative pronouns in Tongan; consequently positing such a class might be said to be an ethnocentric view of the matter. In my opinion, only the "constraints on the appearance of the co-referential"... "pronoun" indicate that relativisation obtains at all in Tongan, and not the presence of this pronoun. This last can be accounted for more simply in terms of introducing the comment of a topic-comment type of sentence.

45. For a definition of aspect in general, see Comrie 1976 and Tchekhoff 1973b, 1979d. My view of aspect can be summed up here as follows: aspect is the translation into language of the manner in which the verbal operation takes place, according to the two parameters of time and space (for instance, it can be considered in its entirety - from start to finish - or limited in time, or repeated several times, or continuous, or applied to a specific point in space etc...etc...).

46. Tense as opposed to aspect indicates merely the time of verbal operation in reference to the time of the speaker's utterance (see Comrie 1976).

47. See Tchekhoff 1979d and forthcoming.

48. These are allomorphs of the same future marker. See 32, 2).

49. Churchward; dictionary (see 1959:275) gives the following explanation of kuo lelei: 'everything is in order now as opposed to the past when things were not in order'. Our informants have provided us with the above explanation, as well. In both cases, though, the perfect indicates an action or operation that has started in the past and ends in the present.

50. In a previous paper, (Tchekhoff 1973b), I have called this virtual (instead of general unmarked as opposed to factual (instead of perfective). But I think general vs. perfective is a better name for this aspectual pair, for it links it up with the same aspect in other systems (see note 53 for Russian). I have not used notions such as affectivity or control (Green 1980) although they also apply from a

purely semantic point of view: as a general methodological approach, I prefer to base my analysis on contrasts and oppositions, that have form as well as meaning, within the target-language itself; as such, these are less open to mere subjective interpretations from a linguist who is also an outsider to the language he is studying.

51. I hope to have shown elsewhere (Tchekhoff 1978c) that -'i perfective verbal suffix is the same morpheme as 'i locative function-marker. Both are reflexes of P. Austronesian *Ci. (For a complete historical approach, see Foley 1976.)

52. Samoan presents a similar aspect although more complex. See the opposition imperfective vs. perfective, G.B. Milner, 1975.

53. The same semantic necessity presides over the perfective aspect in Russian: although it is expressed in different ways. In Russian, it is usually explained as limiting the process to one specific time of occurrence. But this is not enough, the operation must also be successful, as the following examples will show: a) *ja vzjal ocki, i oni u menja v karmane* 'I took my glasses, and they are in my pocket' bears a perfective aspect, but in b) the aspect must be imperfective because the verbal operation is not successfully carried out: b) *ja bral očki, no potom položil ix na stol, i zabil tam* 'I took my glasses, but then I laid them on the table and forgot them there'.

54. When our informants were confronted by the syntactic restrictions of the others, each re-affirmed his own point of view and could provide us with no further information on the subject. I was unable to work with 'Ofa Takulua on -'i marked verbs.

55. Also see Green 1980.

56. Green (1980:15) disagrees with my interpretation of (4) virtual as opposed to (3) factual in Tchekhoff (1973a). To him, "the effect of the -i suffix is to eliminate the possibility of a durative or static reading with its sense of a potential effect" (my underlining). I agree that the -'i suffix does eliminate a potential effect, since with a perfective aspect, the verbal operation must be carried out successfully. But I do not agree with his next point that "the drink is fully affected in both" sentences: to my informant, with -'i the verbal operation affects the undergoer (in Green's terms) more specifically than it does without it.

57. Himi is another loanword from English; again according to the CVCV phonetic pattern of Tongan.

58. I have consulted Veiongo by mail as to these sentences. She corrects Siosiane's tokonia'i to tokoni'i, tokonia being a durative agent-compatible verb (Churchward 1959:490) and tokoni a general agent-incompatible one. But Siosiane adds the perfective suffix to tokonia; in so doing she corroborates my feeling that the -a suffix is hardly productive today: to her it is simply part of the verb '*to help*'. However, tokonia may have a durative value to some native speakers. See Churchward 1959:490, and Green op.cit. I have not been able to find out about this. In that case a second aspectual pair may be set up, that of durative with -a suffixed verb vs. general unsuffixed verb, as in tokoni - tokonia.

59. See note 58.

60. Mr. Green objects to such an interpretation of this constraint in Siosiane's idiolect (1980:15). In his own words: "what cultural-semantic restrictions prevent Tongans from shooting down the entire bird population of any given area, be it only two or three or a hundred birds?" Possibly, but Siosiane feels that she cannot do this, and I must report the way she as my informant feels about it... Moreover, Churchward (1959:139): "fana, v.g. to shoot (e.g. birds); to dynamite (fish); to blast, to clear (an opening) by blasting". Ian Green (1980:15): "/fana/ which (Tchekhoff) glosses as "shoot", has a primary meaning "to blast". Used with "fish" for example, it means "to dynamite" and used with a noun like "rock" or "mountain" it means "to blast, to clear (an opening) by blasting"... (na'e fana 'e Sione 'a e Manupuna) is then glossed as "John blasted the birds. Extra linguistic context determines that this normally does with a gun." (! my exclamation) To this, one may reply: birds do not get blasted anymore than fish or a mountain get shot... Ian Green's arguments are often convincing in their own right; however, in the present case, these far-fetched and dubious dialectics do nothing to further them.

61. These sentences were offered by Siosiane; the other informants agreed with her.

62. Possibly this discrepancy may be due to a difference between men's and women's speech, as is present in every culture; women's speech is often more conservative than men's speech for reasons of propriety and stricter rules of social behaviour.

73. It will be remembered that the definite article is \bar{e} when it stands alone, but e when it is supported by the 'a function marker, as in 'ae. (See 'Allomorphs' §30, b))

74. However it will be seen below that 'a + NP is sometimes used with a looser meaning.

75. The same oppositions obtain in the plural. See Churchward 1953.

76. The choice of 'a or 'o probably depends on context in general.

77. There is no specific interrogative construction in Tongan, only an appropriate rising intonation pitch, along with various optional interrogative interjections. (Churchward 1953:chapter 34.)

78. For a complete list, see Churchward 1953:chapter 20.

79. A non-exhaustive list can be found above in §11 above.

80. There is no gender in Tongan.

81. Body-parts belong to the ho patient-possessive class.

82. In order to express '*Peter wounded John*' with a nominal predicate sentence, the following wording would have to be used in order to avoid the 'e function-marker:

ko e lavea 'a Sione ('i) he ngāue 'a Pita '*John's being wounded*
is through Peter's work (ngāue).'

Here 'i is a free instrument function-marker. Note that instrument-marker is the same as locative (§5). This is also the case in some Australian languages (B.J. Blake 1977).

83. A sacred drink originating from a human being after he has died is a well-known mythological concept; within the indo-European cultural area, Germanic and Sanskrit are cases in point.

84. ne is an allomorph of na'e past tense.

85. It is a large plant about three feet high, with an edible root:
Alocasia macrorrhiza.

86. Here *he ko e ongo matu'a masiva kinaua* can be analysed as a single noun-phrase determined by its definite article *he*. Strategies of the same type can be found in many languages, English for instance, as in '*did you get the what's it?*' or French '*le qu'en dira-t-on*'. Another instance of the same mechanism will be found in (§12) where a verbal sentence is made into an NP through the same definite article:

he kuo lolotonga.
through the perfect continue

More examples in l. 12, 15, 17 and 29 etc...

87. Translation by Tevita.

88. There is a difference in tone and subject between this legend and its end, but this is the way it was given to me. It may be an extra instance of the influence of Western world economics on traditional Polynesian culture.

89. See 6 etc., above. For a complete study of the subject, see Churchward 1953:chapter 7.

90. See (§3) above.

91. See *ibid* above.

92. See (§21) above.

93. See (§3 and 5) above.

94. See (§3) and (§5) for the preferred order of verbal modifiers.

95. For further details, see Churchward 1953:chapter 19.

96. See (§22) through to (§26) for the syntax of these units.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Many rare books and papers on Tonga and the Tongan language have been made available to me through the courtesy of Miss Renée Heyum, Head Librarian at the University of Hawaii in Honolulu, Pacific Section. I would like to thank her for her help in this matter.

AARNE, Antti A.

- 1961 *The types of the folk-tale: a classification and bibliography.*
Translated and enlarged by Stith Thompson. Second revision. Helsinki:
Finnish Academia Scientiarum.

ALLEN, W. Sidney

- 1964 Transitivity and Possession. *Language* 40/3:337-343.

ANONYMOUS

- 1954 *Koe Asitolome Koe Uluaki buk I ko hono hisitolia koe tohi asitolome ma' ae i kau helohelo 'o Ha'abai* [Astronomy book for Ha'abai Alumni].
Sydney: South Pacific Commission; Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii,
Honolulu. Microfilm 397.

ANSRE, Gilbert

- 1966 The verbid - a caveat to serial verbs. *Journal of West African languages*
3/1:29-32.

ARNAULD, Antoine and Pierre NICOLE

- 1683 *La logique; ou, l'art de penser.* 5th edn, revised and enlarged.
Paris: Guillaume Desprez.

BAKER, Shirley W.

- 1897 *An English and Tonga vocabulary, also a Tonga and English vocabulary, with a list of idiomatic phrases, and Tongan grammar.* Auckland, New Zealand:
Wilsons and Horton.

BAR-HILLEL, Yehoshua

- 1970 *Aspects of language.* Jerusalem: Magnes Press.

BAUER, Charles

- 1965 The English perfect reconsidered. *Journal of Linguistics* 6:189-198.

BEAGLEHOLE, J.C., ed.

- 1961 *The journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery.*
Hakluyt Society extra series No. xxxv. Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press.

BENEDICT, Paul K.

- 1972 *Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus.* Contributing ed.: James Alan Matisoff.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BENVENISTE, Emile

- 1946 Structure des relations de personne dans le verbe. *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris (BSL)* 43:1.
- 1956 La nature des pronoms. In M. Halle et al. comps *For Roman Jakobson, ...-...* The Hague: Mouton.

BIGGS, Bruce

- 1971 The languages of Polynesia. In T.A. Sebeok, ed. *Current trends in linguistics 8: Linguistics in Oceania*, 466-505 and passim. La Haye, Paris: Mouton.

BLAKE, Barry J.

- 1977 *Case marking in Australian languages*. Linguistic Series No.23. Canberra, Australia: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- 1979 Some thoughts on case relations. Mimeograph. Clayton, Victoria, Australia: Monash University.
- 1979 *A Kalkatungu grammar*. PL, B-57.
- 1980 The absolutive: its scope in English and Kalkatungu. In J. Hooper and S.A. Thompson, ed. *Transitivity and Case Relations*. Los Angeles: UCLA.

BLOOMFIELD, Leonard

- 1917 *Tagalog texts with grammatical analysis*. Bloomfield: University of Illinois Press.
- 1933 *Language*. London: Allen and Unwin.

BURGMANN, A.

- 1941-1942 Syntaktische Probleme in Polynesischen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Tonganischens. *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen* 32:1-30, 89-113, 183-201. Berlin: Reimer.

CAPELL, Arthur

- 1931 Some curiosities of Polynesian possessives. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 40:141-150.
- 1949 The concept of ownership in the languages of Australia and the Pacific. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 5/3:169-189.

CARNAP, Rudolf

- 1956 *Meaning and necessity: a study in semantics and modal logic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1958 *Introduction to symbolic logic and its applications*. New York: Dover.

CHUNG, Sandra L.

- 1978 *Case marking and grammatical relations in Polynesian*. Austin and London: University of Texas Press.

CHURCHWARD, C.M.

- 1953 *Tongan Grammar*. London: Oxford University Press.
- 1959 *Tongan Dictionary* (Tongan-English, English-Tongan). London: Oxford University Press.

CLARK, Ross

- 1973 Transitivity and case in Eastern Oceanic languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:559-605.

COLLOCOTT, Ernest Edgar Vyvyan

- 1923 *Proverbial sayings of the Tongans*. Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum Press.
- 1925 Supplementary Tongan vocabulary: also notes on measuring and counting, proverbial expressions and phases of the moon. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 34:146-169, 193-213. Wellington, New Zealand.

COMRIE, Bernard

- n.d. Definite and animate direct objects, a natural class? *Linguistica silesiana* III.

COMRIE, Bernard

- 1973 The ergative: variations on a theme. *Lingua* 32:239-253.
- 1976 *Aspect: an introduction to the study of verbal aspect and selected problems*. Cambridge: C.U.P.

COWAN, H.K.J.

- 1969 "les oppositions "aliénable : inaliénable" et "animé : inanimé" en mélanésien". *Word* 25/3:70-86. Linguistic studies presented to André Martinet, Linguistics Association.

CUBAR, Ernesto H. and Nelly I. CUBAR

- 1974 Topicalization and related processes in Tagalog and Ilocano. Paper presented at the First International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu, Hawaii.

DARDJOWIDJOJO, Soenjono

- 1975 The role of overt markers in some Indonesian and Javanese passive sentences. *Oceanic linguistics* 3:371-389. Honolulu, Hawaii.

DEMPWOLFF, Otto

- 1934- *Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes...* Erster Band:
- 1938 *Induktiver Aufbau einer indonesischen Ursprache*. Zweiter Band: *Deduktive Anwendung des Urindonesischen auf austronesische Einzelsprachen*. Dritter Band: *Austronesisches Wörterverzeichnis*. 3 vols. (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen. Fünfzehntes Heft. Siebzehntes Heft. Neunzehntes Heft.) Berlin: Reimer.

DEMPWOLFF, Otto

- 1939 *Grammatik der Jabêm-Sprache auf Neuguinea*. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter.

DIK, Simon C.

- 1978 *Functional Grammar*. North-Holland Linguistic Series 37. New York: North Holland.

DIXON, R.M.W.

- 1972 *The Dyirbal language of North Queensland*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- 1977 *A grammar of Yidip*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- 1979 Ergativity. *Language* 55/1:59-138.
- 1980 *The languages of Australia*. London: Cambridge University Press.

ENTWISTLE, W.J.

- 1953 *Aspects of language*. London: Faber and Faber.

FERRELL, Raleigh

- 1974 Construction markers and subgrouping of Formosan languages. Paper presented at the First International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu, Hawaii.
- 1975 Ergative, passive or focus-marking? Elicitation of verb-syntax in Indonesian languages. *Colloque International du C.N.R.S.: les langues sans tradition écrite, méthodes d'enquête et de description*. Paris: SELAF.
- 1977 Conjunct verbs and verb-object incorporation in Formosan languages. Paper presented at the First International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu, Hawaii.

FOKKER, A.A.

- 1940 Over verbale vormen in het Maleisch. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal Land en Volkenkunde* 80:395-424.
- 1951a *Inleiding tot de Indonesische Syntaxis*. Groningen: Woltern.
- 1951b *Inleiding tot de Studie van de Indonesische Syntaxis*. Groningen-Djakarta.

FOLEY, William Auguste

- 1976 Comparative syntax in Austronesian. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley. Zerox University Microfilm No.77-4453, Ann Arbor Michigan.

GIFFORD, Edward Winslow

- 1924 *Tongan myths and tales*. Bulletin 8. Honolulu, Hawaii: Bishop Museum.

GRACE, George W.

- 1959 *The position of the Polynesian languages within the Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) language family*. Indiana University publications in Anthropology and Linguistics, Memoir 16. Supplement to *IJAL*, 25/3.

GREEN, Ian

- 1980 Arguments against the proto-polynesian passive-semantic vs pragmatic-properties of the *Cia suffix. Mimeograph. Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

GREENBERG, Joseph H.

- 1966 *Language universals with special reference to feature hierarchies*. The Hague: Mouton.

GRIBBLE, Rev. C.F.

- n.d. *Siokalafi ma'ae ngahi lautoli* [Geography for schools]. Honolulu: University of Hawaii.

HALE, Horatio

- 1889 First settlement and changes produced in Hawaiian, Marquesan and Tongan languages. *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute* 6:107-110.

HALE, Kenneth L.

- 1969 The passive and ergative in language change: the Australian case. In S.A. Wurm and D.C. Laycock, eds *Pacific linguistic studies in honour of Arthur Capell*, 757-781. PL, C-13.

HALLIDAY, M.A.K.

- 1967 Notes on transitivity and theme in English. *Journal of Linguistics* 3/1:37-81, 3/2:199-244, 4:179-215.
- 1970 Language structure and language function. In John Lyons, ed. *New horizons in linguistics*, 140-165. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

HARRIS, Zellig S.

- 1963 *Structural linguistics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 6th edn.

HJELMSLEV, Louis

- 1937 La nature du pronom. In *Mélanges van Ginneken*, 51-58. Paris: Klincksieck.

HOCKETT, Charles F.

- 1958 *A course in modern linguistics*. New York: Macmillan.

HOHEPA, Patrick W.

- 1969 The accusative-to-ergative drift in Polynesian languages. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 78/3:295-329.

HOLISKY, D.

- 1976 A contribution to the semantics of aspect: Georgian medial verbs. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago.

JESPERSEN, Otto

- 1914 *A modern English grammar on historical principles*, Part 2: *Syntax*, vol.1, chapters 12, 13, 14, 15, passim. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- 1924 *The philosophy of grammar*. London: Allen and Unwin.

KEENAN, Edward L.

- 1976 Towards a universal definition of 'subject'. In C.N. Li, ed. *Subject and topic*, 303-333. New York and London: Academic Press.

KRUPA, Viktor

- 1967 On phonemic structure of morpheme in Samoan and Tongan. *Beiträge zur Sprachkunde und Informations-Verarbeitung*, 12:72-83 tabl. München.

KURYŁOWICZ, Jerry

- 1949 Le problème du classement des cas. *Bulletin de la Société Polonaise de Linguistique*, 9:27. Krakow.

LAFFEBER, A.

- The grammatical value of constructions with *e* in the Polynesian dialects compared with similar cases in Indonesia. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 37:403-425. Wellington, New Zealand.

LEE, Kee-dong

- 1974 Verbal aspects in Kusaiean and Ponapean (meanings and functions of directional suffixes). Paper presented at the First International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu, Hawaii.

LI, Charles N., ed.

- 1976 *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic Press.

LYNCH, John

- 1969 Voice and case in Tongan. *University of Hawaii working papers in linguistics* 1/6:71-85.
- 1972 Passives and statives in Tongan. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 81/1:5-18.
- 1975 Verbal aspects of possession in Melanesian languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:69-102.

LYONS, John

- 1967 A note on possessive, existential and locative sentences. *Foundations of language* 3:390-396.
- 1968 *Introduction to theoretical linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MARINER, William

- 1817 *An account of the natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean; with an original grammar and vocabulary of their language*. Compiled and arranged from the extensive communications of Mr. William Mariner by John Martin. London: Murray.

MARISTES

- 1890 *Dictionnaire toga-français et français-toga-anglais, precede d'une grammaire et de quelques notes sur l'archipel*, par les Missionnaires Maristes, revu et mis en ordre par P.A.C. S.M. Paris: C. Chadenat.

MARTINET, André

- 1957 La notion de neutralisation dans la morphologie et le lexique. In *Travaux de l'Institut de Linguistique de l'Université de Paris* 2:7-11. Paris: Klincksieck.
- 1958 La construction ergative. *Journal de Psychologie Normale et Pathologique*. Paris: Juillet-Septembre.
- 1959 Review of Manfred Sandmann subject and predicate. *Bulletin de la société de linguistique* 54, fasc.2:42-45. Edinburgh, 1954: The University Press.
- 1962 *A functional view of language*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- 1964 The foundations of a functional syntax. In C.I.J.M. Stuart, ed. *Monograph series on language and linguistics* no.17: report of the 15th annual R.T.M. on linguistic and language studies, 25-36. Washington: Georgetown University.
- 1970a Verbs as function markers. *Studies in general and oriental linguistics, mélanges shirô hattori*, 447-450. Tokyo: T.E.C.
- 1970b La morphologie. Rapport sur le séminaire dirigé à l'école pratique des hautes études. *Annuaire de l'E.P.H.E.* Paris: Sorbonne.
- 1971 A note on syntax. *Pakha sanjam*, 11-16. Patiala.
- 1972 Should we drop the notion of "subject"? *Canadian Journal of Linguistics / Revue Canadienne de Linguistique* 17/2:175-179.

MILNER, George B.

- 1971 Fijian and Rotuman. In T.A. Sebeok, ed. *Current trends in linguistics* vol.8: *Linguistics on Oceania*, 397-425. Paris: Mouton, La Haye.
- 1972 Active, passive, or perfective in Samoan: a fresh appraisal of the problem. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 71/2:151-161. Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1973 It is aspect (not voice) which is marked in Samoan. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:621-639.

MORTON, Ermel J.

- 1956 *A brief English-Tongan and Tongan-English dictionary*. U.S.A.: Liahona College.
- 1962 *A descriptive grammar of Tongan (Polynesian)*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

MOULTON, J.E.

- 1875 *Febale a isoba*. Translated by J.E. Moulton for Tupou College. London.

NAYLOR, Paz Buenaventura

- 1975 On contextual aspects of topicalisation. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12. Honolulu, Hawaii.

OKELL, John

- 1969 *A reference grammar of colloquial Burmese*. 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press.

OMAR, Asmah Haji

- 1974 The possessive phrase in the western Austronesian languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 3:391-407.

PAWLEY, Andrew

- 1966 Polynesian languages: a subgrouping based on shared innovations in morphology. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 75:39-64. Wellington, New Zealand.

PAWLEY, Andrew

- 1974 Austronesian languages. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th edn, 483-493. London.

PAWLEY, Andrew and Lawrence A. REID

- 1976 The evolution of transitive constructions in Austronesian. *University of Hawaii working papers in linguistics* 8/2:51-74. Also in P.B. Naylor, ed. *Papers from the second eastern conference on Austronesian languages...* Ann Arbor: CSSEAS Publications.

PERLMUTER, David M. and Paul M. POSTAL

- 1977 Toward a universal characterization of passivization. In Kenneth Whistler et al. ed. *Proceedings of the third annual meeting of the Berkeley linguistics society*, 394-417. Berkeley, Cal.: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

PERROT, Jean

- 1961 Les faits d'aspect dans les langues classiques. *L'Information littéraire* 3:109-118, 4:154-163. Paris.

RABONE, Stephen

- 1845 *Vocabulary of the Tonga language* [followed by a] *List of idiomatic phrases*. Vava'u: Wesleyan Mission Press.

RAY, Sidney H.

- 1896 The common origin of Oceanic languages. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 5:58-68.

ROBINS, R.H.

- 1952 Noun and verb in universal grammar. *Language*, 28/3:289-299.

RUIPEREZ, Martín Sánchez

- 1954 *Estructura del sistema de aspectos y tiempos del verbo griego antiguo: análisis funcional sincrónico*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.

SAPIR, Edward

- 1921 *Language: an introduction to the study of speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.

SAUSSURE, Ferdinand de

- 1967 *Cours de linguistique générale*. Paris: Bally et A. Sechehaye.

SCHUCHARDT, Hugo

- 1896 Über den passiven charakter des transitives in den kaukasischen sprachen. *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte* Bd 133, I. *Abhandlung*, 1-91.

SHUMWAY, Eric B.

- 1971 *Intensive course in Tongan*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.

SILVERSTEIN, M.

- 1976 Hierarchy of features and ergativity. In R.M.W. Dixon, ed. *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*, 112-171. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

SIRK, Ü.V.

- 1967 De l'expression des relations subjecto-objectives dans les langues indonesiennes. In *Ergativnaja konstrukcija predlozhenija v jazykax razlichnyx tipov*, 126-134. Moscow: Akademiya Nauk U.S.S.R.

SNOW, Philip A.

- 1969 *A bibliography of Fiji, Tonga, and Rotuma: preliminary working edition*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

STAROSTA, Stanley

- 1978 The one per-sent solution. In Werner Abraham, ed. *Valence, semantic case and grammatical relations*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin.

STEVENS, Alan M.

- 1974 Case-relations of Pa-causatives. Paper presented at the First International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu, Hawaii.

SUGITA, Hiroshi

- 1975 Comparison of verb-object relationships in Micronesian languages. Paper presented at the First International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Honolulu, Hawaii.

TCHEKHOFF, Claude

- 1973a Some verbal patterns in Tongan. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 82:281-292.
- 1973b Verbal aspects in an ergative construction: an example in Tongan. *Oceanic Linguistics* 12:607-620. Honolulu, Hawaii.
- 1978a *Aux fondements de la syntaxe: l'ergatif*. Presses universitaires de France. Paris. Coll. Le Linguiste.
- 1978b Le double cas-sujet des inanimés: un archaïsme de la syntaxe hittite? *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris* 73/1:225-241.
- 1978c Typology and genetics: some syntactic conclusions that can be drawn from a functional comparison between Indonesian verbal suffix -i and Tongan 'i. In S.A. Wurm and Lois Carrington, eds *SICAL: the proceedings*, 367-382. PL, C-61.
- 1979a Fonctions grammaticales et diversité des langues. *Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris* 74/1:1-23.
- 1979b Opposition animé: inanimé et construction du verbe. In C. Paris, ed. *Lacito-Documents. Relations predicat-actant(s) dans des langues de type divers II SELAF 5 rue de Marseille 75010 Paris*.
- 1979c From ergative to accusative in Tongan: an example of synchronic dynamics. In Frans Plank, *Ergativity: towards a theory of grammatical relations*, 407-418. London/New York: Academic Press.
- 1979d *La construction ergative en avar et en tongien*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne/Klincksieck.
- 1981 Language-type and Tongan. Paper presented to the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia.
- forth-coming The participle in Avar, NE Caucasus: Jack-of-all-trades. In *Proceedings of the 2nd conference of the Center for Balkan and Slavic Studies. University of Chicago*.

TONGA, Government of

- 1875 *Constitution of Tonga, granted by his Majesty George Tupou on 4th November*. Nuku'alofa: Government Printer.
- 1935 *Koe gahi tu'utu'uni oe Fakataha oe Fale Alea* [Laws of Parliament]. Nuku'alofa: Government Printer.

TUPOU, Posesi Fanua

- 1975 *Po Fananga: folk-tales of Tonga*. San Diego, California: Tofua Press.

UHLENBECK, C.C.

- 1901 Agens und Patiens im Kasussystem der Indogermischen Sprachen. 12:170-171.

VOGT, Hans

- 1940 *The Kalispel language: an outline of the language with texts, translation and dictionary*. Oslo: Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi.

WATKINS, Calvert

- 1969 *Indogermanische grammatik: Bd III erster teil: Geschichte der Indogermanischen verbal flexion.* Heidelberg: Indogermanischen Bibliothek.

WHITCOMBE, John Douglas

- 1946 *Tongan phrase book.* 2nd edn. Auckland: Wilson and Horton.

WILLIAMS, H.W.

- 1928 Some observations on Polynesian verbs. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 37:306-317. Wellington, New Zealand.

ZORC, R. David

- 1974 Internal and external relationships of the Mangyan languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 13:561-600. Honolulu, Hawaii.

